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Selections.

From the Boston Republican.

SPEECH OF JOHN VAN BUREN IN FANEUIL HALL.

September 6, 1848.

[Phronographic Report by Dr. Stone.]

Taking it as an evidence of the interest that you feel in the cause which we all have at heart, I am exceedingly gratified so far as I can regard it as in any degree of kind feeling towards myself, or a welcome to me, on arriving here in compliance with an invitation to address you this evening, and I tender to you my sincere and heartfelt thanks.

In the remarks which I shall address to you this evening, I shall ask an apology for indulging in a strain of comment or remark that would only delay the proceeding of the meeting, uncomfortable as you must be during the time I shall be called upon to address you. [Here the speaker pulled off his cravat.]

The condition of the public mind at present is one calling for the anxious consideration of every American citizen. The condition of the Republic is of that character. A Presidential election is about approaching when you will be called upon to exercise your suffrages, and before doing so it is natural that the public mind should be largely agitated in regard to the questions which will be presented for the decision of the people at the approaching election. Prominent among these is the question of human Slavery and the extension of that evil to countries where it does not now exist. This question has been prominently pressed into the approaching canvass, which I shall describe to you very briefly.

At the Declaration of Independence, as you all know, our forefathers knew Slavery to be an evil, and unanimously denounced it as such. In the Declaration of Independence, they declared that "all men are born free and equal." The original draft of that instrument among the prominent charges against Great Britain, as made by Mr. Jefferson, was one of countenancing the foreign slave trade, and keeping open a market where men might be bought and sold like cattle.

At the adoption of the Constitution we had thirteen States, seven of which it was known would be probably non-slaveholding States, and six of which would remain slaveholding States. The North-western Territory, as it is commonly called, was a portion of land belonging to the United States, from which it was anticipated new States would be formed. Five new States were formed from it, in which by the ordinance introduced by Mr. Jefferson in 1784, and made a law in 1787, Slavery was prohibited.

In this way eight free States were added, and nine additional slave States have been formed, making fifteen; so that precisely one half of the States in this Union are slaveholding States. In the approaching election of President, the policy of the country being thus equally suspended, it being dependent upon the people to say whether new States shall be for Freedom or for Slavery, the choice of a President who will promote or frustrate the object you have in view, becomes of the highest importance.

Texas was introduced with war. Texas was introduced with its boundaries unadjusted. Texas was introduced, as Mr. Benton, Mr. Blair, and Senator Dix testify, in opposition to their wishes—in disregard of their desires, and in defiance of the understanding they had with the present President of the United States in regard to its introduction. What came as a necessary consequence of admitting Texas with its unadjusted boundaries, was in consequence of the moving of our troops to the very verge of the claim, with a view to sustain our claim by forestalment. This movement of our troops, and this occasion of war and negotiation, were circumstances not anticipated by those Senators, who would otherwise have opposed the admission of Texas, and defeated the bill for that purpose.

The election of 1844 was made by the Democratic party to turn mainly upon the question of the annexation of Texas. The nomination of Presidency was made to turn wholly upon the question of favour or opposition to such immediate annexation. The candidate, as is well known to you, who has been presented to the Buffalo Convention, was called upon to express his opinion in regard to that measure. After delegates had been selected, a majority of whom, it is supposed, were instructed to support his nomination as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, he did not hesitate to declare his opposition to such annexation. Opposition to that annexation was made the test of preference in that nominating convention, and of course the choice of the Convention fell upon another candidate. That candidate fulfilled, as I say to you, expectations of the Slave power which put him into nomination, by violating his express obligations to Mr. Benton, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Dix.

In '46 we were convinced that the war would annex to this country a large portion of territory in which Slavery did not exist. Mr. Wilmot introduced into Congress a proviso that that territory should be ever kept free. Mr. King at the succeeding session of Congress introduced a similar proviso, but neither of those gentlemen proposed to make that a test of eligibility to office, either to the Presidency or to any minor office. The Southern States however, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina, resolved, at Democratic conventions, that they would under no political necessity whatever, support any man who was not opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, as it was called. They sent their delegates to the Baltimore Convention under these resolutions.

The Democratic party of the State of New York had resolved that the territory ought to be kept free. At the Democratic convention at Syracuse, a resolution to that effect was introduced and laid on the table. A convention was then assembled at Herkimer, which resolved that the territory ought to be kept free. Delegates were sent to the Utica Convention, who resolved that the territory should be kept free; but no where, on any occasion, did the Democrats of New York determine that that should become a test in the coming elections. She entertaining that faith, they were not allowed to give the vote of the State in the National Convention; they were neutralized by an irregular delegation from New York. They were not heard. Mr. Lewis Cass, who received the nomination of that convention, had declared, prior to its assembling, that he was in favour of the Wilmot Proviso. He states in a letter that has recently been published, that he was obliged to change his mind, because he was satisfied that the South would not vote money to carry on the war; that they would not agree to any treaty so long as the Wilmot Proviso was threatened, and there was a prospect of its passage. Mr. Cass recanted his faith in consequence of their making this a test in the Presidential election.

He voted against the Wilmot Proviso. He was the favourite of the Baltimore Convention, organized upon that test, as I have already stated. He acted upon it and was nominated by that Convention, and he stands now a candidate acceptable to the South, nominated upon the test I have stated to you, he declares openly that he sees no warrant in the Constitution for the passage of the Wilmot Proviso. He stands in such a condition that a democratic editor in the United States has said that he is pledged to veto that bill, or such provision, if elected President. Under these circumstances every Democrat must see in the first place that no National Convention has put him in nomination. New York has never been heard in the selection of a candidate. He has been nominated upon the pro-Slavery test.

He is understood to be a man who stands pledged to favour the extension of Slavery to lands in which it does not now exist. A vote given to him, therefore, is a vote given directly upon this precise question, in favour of the extension of Slavery to countries which are now free. It is for every Democrat in this State, in view of these facts, to determine for himself whether it is proper, under these circumstances, to give such a vote. I have stated that his nomination was irregular. I have stated that his nomination was not in conformity to the usages of the Democratic party; but it would not be frank in me if I did not add that if he were nominated ever so regularly; if his nomination was ever so conformable to the usages of the Democratic party, if I found that party abandoning the first principles of civil liberty: if I found it recreant to the great principle of human rights, if there were no other man living in the union to vote against him, I should be one.

In this respect, I can safely claim to have had some little experience. A ticket was nominated in behalf of the Republican party of the State of New York, when a resolution in behalf of liberty was laid upon the table. There was but one other ticket at that time—the ticket nominated by the Whig party—to whom I had always been opposed; not opposed as men ordinarily are; not opposed under circumstances which distinguish the cases of most people; but I owed, as I have repeatedly acknowledged, to the Republican party of the State of New Yotk and of the Union, a debt of gratitude which I would do everything honourable and just in the whole course of my life to repay.

They had extended to me acts of kindness, constant fidelity, tenacious friendship, and unaffected good will. They had not only done that, but had conferred upon me honors far beyond any merits of my own. But although this was true, although they claimed to have nominated an entire State ticket regularly, and although they called upon me to fulfil those obligations of gratitude which I considered to be due, I could not hesitate to go up to Herkimer to announce publicly that I could not vote that ticket, and, so far as I could be of any avail, to urge upon those with whom I had any influence, to discard and denounce this ticket in the name of the Democratic party of New York.

The Whig party of the Union—if any allusion to that ancient body should not be considered out of date—(laughter) assembled in Philadelphia to nominate a candidate for the Presidency who had been known during his entire life as a military man of excellent character. They nominated him in disregard of the claims of experienced statesmen of their own party. They nominated him a slaveholder and a Southern man, rejecting by an overwhelming majority, and almost kicking from their building, a resolution in behalf of human freedom, under circumstances from which I have inferred that his nomination was made by the demands and exactions of slave power, as much as the nomination made in the name of the Democratic party. Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, two eminent statesmen of the Whig party, were, I presume nobody will dispute, eligible to office.

They were, it was generally conceded, competent to discharge its duties—they were, I presume nobody will deny, through life faithful to what were understood to be the principles of the Whig party, and here I presume I shall find few to dissent from the remark, if I say they were both men of excellent social qualities, who partook largely of personal regard of their friends belonging to their political party, as well as of their opponents. Such being the case, what was there that prevented their nomination, because there must have been something.

If these personal qualities, political fidelity, and conceded competency, do not constitute this modern ignis fatuus of "availability," what does. I agree with Mr. Webster that the nomination of General Taylor was not fit to be made. (Cheers.) I agree with Mr. Webster that it is the first time in the history of this country that the Whig party of this country were ever called upon to vote for a mere military man.

General Washington had, as he truly states, civil experience. He was a member of Congress of the Confederation, and of the Convention that framed the Constitution. He had large experience while in command of our army during the Revolution. General Harrison was a foreign minister—he was a territorial governor—a United States Senator, and a delegate to Congress. General Jackson filled various offices—such as Judge and United States Senator.

The nomination of Gen. Taylor, in my humble judgment, fails to address itself to the very people it was intended to attract. He was nominated under the impression that there is in mere military character, something to dazzle the mind of the ignorant, and draw them to the support of the political party in which they are employed.

Now the nominations of Gen. Jackson and Gen. Harrison should have taught politicians a totally different lesson. Gen. Jackson was beaten at his first nomination, when his military reputation was more fresh, and afterwards elected when he had acquired civil qualifications. Gen. Harrison was also beaten at his first nomination. They were both beaten until they became the exponents of a political party, and the representatives of a political principle, and then of course, superadded to their military reputation—having political principles and capacity, they became candidates known as available. Now the availability of Gen. Harrison consisted in his warm support of Henry Clay and Whig principles. So too of Mr. Polk, who was the great available of modern times. He was supported by Col. Benton, and Mr. Allen, and other prominent Republicans of the country, immediately from the word "go." But here we have Gen. Taylor, already ninety days in the field, and no man present can tell me whether Henry Clay will vote for him when the election arrives—no man present can tell me, unless he has better sources of information than are open to the public, whether Daniel Webster will vote for him or not. Mr. Webster says that after ninety days anxious-reflection, he has come to the conclusion not to oppose him, and you see he has only sixty days left to bring himself to the conclusion to vote for him. (Cheers and laughter.)

This condition of things brought about the assembling of the Buffalo Convention—an assemblage of freemen that has correctly been described to be unprecedented in numbers, containing from ten to fifty thousand people, assembling at the busiest season of the year, at an expense, probably, of a million of dollars—coming together en-masse, as if the people had got tired of their representative conventions, and were determined to take the matter in hand themselves. (Great applause.) Unlike all other conventions that have been held—and most peculiarly and particularly unlike those assembled at Philadelphia and Baltimore—they began by a declaration of principles. They should have apologized to those two conventions for starting in that way and coming on behind with their nominations. The Baltimore Convention presented their candidates after three days hard struggle, and then immediately adopted a series of resolutions, in regard to measures not before the public for the last three or four years, and not one of which materially affected the coming election.

The Philadelphia Convention, not to be outdone in adroitness, presented a candidate, whose political principles nobody knows, and nobody can know them, because he does not know them himself (cheers), and passed a resolution to adjourn. [Laughter.] Now, can anybody tell me what Gen. Taylor was expected to do when he got into the Presidential chair? I dont know. He says he is a Whig, but not an ultra Whig—and he says he will not even promise to be that when he gets in. (Laughter.) He says the native Americans have nominated him, the friends of Mr. Butler have put him on their ticket, the Philadelphia Convention has nominated him, and if the Baltimore Convention had nominated him, he would have accepted upon the same principle. Now the Whigs undoubtedly had a right to claim to be disappointed in regard to Tyler, but have no right to be disappointed in regard to Taylor, because he does not profess to be anything or do anything, when he comes in, and no human being has a right to be disappointed in him.

The Buffalo Convention, assembled under the circumstances I have stated, to the number of fifty thousand people, presented a platform, briefly this: To go for electing all officers by the people—for a limitation and a reform in the disposal of the public lands—for the payment of the public debt, and the collection of the means to pay that debt, by a tariff of revenue—they go for the improvement of rivers and harbours to the fullest extent—they go for the abolition of Slavery, wherever Congress have the Constitutional power to abolish it. [Great applause] And they go for eternal resistence to the extension of human Slavery one inch beyond its present limits. [Cheers.]

Now to say that this is strictly a Democratic platform, or that it is strictly a Whig platform, according to past organizations, is not what I mean to affirm; It is deeper and broader—it is an American platform. (Applause.) I regret that a distinguished citizen in this neighbourhood should have found himself so circumstanced, as to one of the candidates upon our platform, that he thinks it ludicrous for him to occupy it. He says that if the candidate for the Presidency and himself after being steadily opposed to each other for five and twenty years should find themselves upon the same platform, they would laugh in each others faces.

He says that this is so ludicrous that he could not do it. But it seems to me that this is unnecessary squeamishness upon the part of that gentleman. It seems to me that after standing for two years upon the anti-bank, anti-tariff, pro-Texas, slaveholding platform with John Tyler, he would be comfortable anywhere he could get a footing. [Applause and three groans for Webster.] Standing there, too, after every other man that gave brilliancy to that remarkably intellectual cabinet of Gen. Harrison, had seen fit to leave it: remaining, I will not say, as the last rose of summer, but certainly that last shoot of Northern Whiggery which had been grafted on the Tyler tree. I regret that there should be anything in the circumstances of our position which should prevent so eminent a man from occupying our platform in common with us. [He is coming—from the crowd.] I hope so.

I regret most essentially that he should distrust our sincerity in regard to the principles which we advocate. He should have known that the public life of our candidate for the Presidency, might be canvassed, it seems to me, with very great care, before any individual would find him asserting any one principle in public life, which he has since abandoned. The fact that Mr. Webster says that he has for thirty years been steadily opposed to him, should satisfy him that the person who has steadily opposed him for thirty years, must have been steady in the support of his principles.

It would not become me to say how steadfast and how immovable that candidate is in devotion to this principle. I can safely say that this is a brand new question—never before presented by the aggressions of the South. I can say that the proposition to carry Slavery into the free territory, and plant it there, is entirely new. I can remind you that opposition was made to it in the State of New York, and by the present nominee for the Presidency. It was presented to a portion of one party in one State, with no more idea of carrying the Presidential election than of going to the moon, at the time the action was had. Subsequent circumstances, the Philadelphia Convention, the national character which was given to the movement has given a different aspect of the whole thing.

At the time it was first done, every reasonable man will concede that there was no prospect of doing anything else than making a naked operation of principle. I may ask any politician what one of them has sacrificed more personal comforts, and more private or political friendship than has been sacrificed by him who first took this position with regard to the extension of Slavery. I regret most particularly that that distinguished statesman should have grown so distrustful that he should fear treachery, for of all things this seems to me the very extreme of nervousness to fear that after being two years in the same truckle-bed with John Tyler. [Great Laughter.]

In regard to one question alone I propose to offer to you a very few remarks—I mean the extension of Slavery into free territory. The objection made to that in the first place is that it is unjust, considering the compromises of the Constitution by which slaves are represented as well as white men, five slaves counting the same as three white men in the representative in Congress. Upon this basis the representative was fixed in the States in which there were then slaves. One slaveholder owning five slaves is represented as four persons, and one white person at the north with any amount of property is represented as but one. Coming out of the struggle of the revolution, anxious to cement our Union, we accepted that as a compromise, but would we consent to have that extended to new States, to free States, to have freedom overturned and Slavery planted there, for the purpose of producing such a representation?

Again, the extension of slave labour to those regions excludes free white labour, upon which, and to protect which our Government was founded.—The labouring man gives to this country and to this Government its dignity and its honour. The labouring man fights the battles of the country. The labouring man controls the Government of the country by the exercise of his suffrage.

It is ascertained that you can only prevent the introduction of Slavery by express enactments. You cannot induce the white labouring man to work beside a black slave. It is to prevent the introduction of Slavery into the free territories, to keep it open to the emigrant from abroad, the Dutchman, the German, and the Frenchman, that this policy originally introduced by Mr. Jefferson has been urged upon the consideration of the country. I never can be induced to believe that the labouring classes of the North, the free white population of this country, could ever be induced by their suffrages to contribute to the extension of this evil to lands where it does not exist, and thus to prohibit themselves from the enjoyment of their own estates. It has been mainly upon these grounds that the extension of Slavery has been resisted. It has been presented distinctly in this election, and it is for the labouring man, who gives his suffrage, to control the result.

Another question, in regard to which much controversy has arisen, is the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. In regard to that, the opinions of the candidate for the Presidency have been largely discussed. He is charged by individuals at the South with having abandoned the opinions he once entertained. Unquestionably he did say, after he was elected to the Presidency in 1837, that he would veto a bill for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. He undoubtedly does say now, that he thinks it unwise to do it. But if both Houses of Congress see fit to do it, he will not veto such a bill. And his justification is to be found, if found at all, in the changed state of the country.—Eleven years have passed since that declaration was made. The South were then defending themselves, as they urged. They were contenting themselves with the territory they had then acquired. Since then they have brought Texas into the Union by war. They have forced this question into two consecutive elections. Nay, they have demanded that the candidate for the Presidency now should prostrate himself at the feet of the Slave Power, and should be willing to concede that they have the right, independent of any legislation whatever, to march with the armies and the power of this country into free territory, and plant there the evil and curse of Slavery. Is it not then time that the full Constitutional power of this country should be executed in abolishing this evil? Can it be the part of a statesman, would it be the part of a wise man, to resist the action of the representatives of the people, if they choose to take this course?

I regret to find that my worthy friend, Mr. Ritchie, in commenting upon this position of our candidate, seems to have lost a large share of his usual discretion, and certainly of his ordinary cautious use of language. He says he has "looked at that letter of acceptance, and instead of proving satisfactory, he must frankly say he has never seen anything so audacious in its assertions and disgraceful to its author. Would it be believed that any man would be guilty of this gross and shameless apostacy." He then repeats the declaration made by Mr. Van Buren, and asks, "can any man believe that after these repeated loud standing declarations there should succeed such brazen evidence of tergiversation," &c. [Here our reporter was interrupted and lost the remainder of the quotation which Mr. Van Buren read from printed copy. At the close of the quotation there were loud cheers, and near the door three were called out for "Old Zach." Having given those three cheers for Old Zach, you have transacted the greater part of the business of a Taylor meeting, and are ready to adjourn. [Great laughter.] Old Mr. Ritchie, I regret to find, is gradually losing his temper. Mr. Ritchie passes for a gentleman in Virginia, and whatever may be said of the improvement of Virginia in other respects, it is entirely obvious that they have made no great progress in improving the gentility of their Virginian gentlemen.

He has manifested a most extraordinary nervousness ever since the nomination of our candidate at Buffalo. And permit me to say in regard to that,—what I think is a little curious,—that as a large portion of the public press is in the hands of our opponents, I find, in their alluding to the Buffalo Convention, this inexplicable result: The Cass men agree entirely that we are destroying the prospects of General Taylor; and the Taylor men agree perfectly that we are destroying the prospects of General Cass. (Cheers.) And yet, they both turn in and abuse us much more unmercifully than they abuse each other. Now is this backing their friends, or telling the truth as they really believe? (Cheers.)

Mr. Ritchie seems to have manifested a concern ever since the re-appearance of Mr. Van Buren on the political stage, that seems to portend danger even to himself. If the gentleman who has been nominated by the Democratic party had been foully put out of the way, through his instrumentality, and his political destruction determined on, he could not be more concerned. He could not more distinctly seem to say, "Nay, never shake thy gory locks at me." (Cheers.) "Thou canst not say I did it."

Now what has been accomplished heretofore, by the Free Soil party? What is their condition, and what are their prospects? In the first place, the ground was taken that the Constitution gave no authority to Congress, to prohibit the introduction of Slavery into the Territories of the United States. That ground was taken upon the Oregon Bill, and it was contested bravely, and strenuously, and yet since these Buffalo nominations—since the uprising of the Northern people—since the determination that has been manifested, we find Oregon admitted, and made a Territory with this Proviso incorporated into the territorial Bill.

We find all the departments of the Government, both branches of the legislature, and a slaveholding President, conceding thus to us the principles for which we contend, that you have power in the Constitution to prohibit the introduction of Slavery into territories in which it does not now exist.

The great fight is to come on with regard to New Mexico and California. The compromise will be introduced. This proposition, already brought forward once in Congress and defeated by a formidable vote—to compromise—this question will be renewed at the next session of Congress. A proposition will be made to allow Slavery to exist south of 36 deg. 30 min. And although but a small portion of the territory comparatively—a large territory in itself—but small, comparatively, lies below that latitude you know that this is but the beginning of the end. We are to go, perhaps, in a certain case, into a war; perhaps for the annexation of the whole of Mexico, to acquire new territory south of 36 deg. 30 min. upon which to plant this curse of human Slavery. And it is with a view to such a movement, as well as to the extension of Slavery over the present territory of New Mexico and California, that the Compromise bill in its last shape, will be renewed in Congress and will be pressed if possible through that body.

The Presidential election will have an important bearing upon that question. The agitation in the North has already had a most important bearing upon it. And is it not of itself the greatest question which could engage the attention of the American people.

Here is a territory equal in extent to the thirteen confederated States which achieved our independence. The territory in New Mexico and California is equal to them. Future States are to be created from it. They are to be free or they are to be slave. You are to determine whether you will have Slavery prohibited in these, or whether you will elect a President who is willing to veto the only measure by which the existence of Slavery in that country can be effectually prohibited.

You are to say therefore, whether the policy of Thomas Jefferson in refference to the Northwestern Territory is to be pursued, whether you are to plant west of the Rio Grande in New Mexico and California, Ohios or Kentuckys—whether you are to plant Virginias or colonies and States like Massachusetts, Can a greater question be presented to the public mind? Can a greater subject be agitated by the American people? [No, no.] And will anybody in this assembly, or can any man anywhere tell me any question that is to be determined by either of the other candidates! Be kind enough to tell me any *little* one that is to be determined by the election of either of the other candidates. No question of principle engages the attention of the old parties, and it is gratifying to find the firm, determined, united stand taken by the worthier men, by humane and civilized men in all portions of the United States, in regard to this question. The little knot of slaveholders, and the little knot of politicians who are true to their interests, governed by slaveholders, are gradually lessening in numbers, and the great mass of the intelligent, humane, reflecting people in the United States are concentrating their forces in opposition to them.

This movement is not confined to the South. Though if confined to the South it might be successful. We have the power still to make Presidents south of the Potomac. And you will find after this agitation becomes fully known at the South, that the politicians of the country are south of the Potomac fifty to one. The office holders of the country in the United States, govern us south of the Potomac fifty to one.

The necessitous men of the country, the poverty of the country is south of the Potomac, [applause.] And you will find—I say this in no offensive sense, but I say it as a part that any one knows who is acquainted with the resources of the United States—and you will find that when the North is once united—that when the North once concentrates its forces, the dough-faces of this country will be found south of the Potomac, and not north of it. [Great sensation.]

No time so conspicuous as the present could possibly be chosen for determining this question. This Party has now assumed so formidable an aspect, that Mr. Calhoun says it will be in a majority in 1851. [Good that's it!]

If it is to be in a majority in 1852, my word for it, it will not fall far short of it in 1848. This movement begins where other movements end. It begins with the mass of the people, with the majority of the voters.

On the part of most public men and political leaders, it is a mere discovery of the popular sentiment, far from the creation of a popular organization towards a movement by those masses who have the power, and having it, know how to wield it. And those politicians who wish to stand well in 1852, would do well to consider what appearance they are to present in 1848, or whether, if they join either of these Pro-Slavery parties now,—if they have open arms for the Slave party now, whether they will be received with confidence by the Free party—the successful and dominant party in 1852. We want them now, but they will want us then. [Good—hurrah!] The policy of the Southern people, dexterous politicians as they are, acquainted as they are with the thousand divers interests that prevail at the North, to keep the North continually divided in regard to men, and in regard to local and party contests and controversies—not of permanent importance—while they proceed in solid column, with a single great interest acting always for the security of their political power, and the advancement of their pecuniary interest, and in that way prevail. They will do so between now and 1852, if this election shall not result in the way which is anticipated.

Cast your eye over the immensely diversified interests of the country. Reflect upon the ten thousand interests in the different States, all, to be sure, if they knew their interests, having one common interest, one common wish—but if they knew the jarring with which they conflict—surely they would become, to some extent, rivals, interfering with each other—exciting animosity and division. Such is the case with this country, with its diversified interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, each particular class fearing that it may be incommoded or injured by the other, and the South continually stirring up these questions of policy which always tend to keep the North divided. But they keep the North divided notoriously and continually with regard to men.

Take, for instance, John Adams—no matter whether they belong to the same party or not—take John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, two of the purest patriots who ever lived in this country—and it is that, by the address of the Southern people, they were continually divided and unfriendly to each other. So was the case with John Jay and George Clinton in our own State. So, too, was the case with Gov. Clinton and Gov. Tompkins in our own State. So was it the case with Gov. Wright and Gov. Marcy, of New York. The South invariably create these rivalries, attach their fortunes to one or the other of these particular interest whichever may be weaker, and in the end always crush both and secure the promotion of their own men. Suffer that to go on from now to 1852, with the concentrated action of the South, with the address of the South the single interest of the South brought to bear against the intelligence, the intellect, and the patriotism of the North, its diversified interests, its energy and immense enterprise, and I assure you that we shall be cut again into detachments long prior to 1852, far worse than have existed heretofore.

We have now a platform of principle upon which the free white man can stand. We have now two candidates who have been presented unanimously with extraordinary enthusiasm, by a convention of unprecedented numbers. Doyou believe the same contingency can occur again? Do you believe that so auspicious a moment will again occur for bringing to bear the giant energies of this Northern country, and of securing this Northern country, and of securing the successful assertion of those Northern rights which have been prostrated time and time and again—securing the advance and elevation, if not the vindication, of those good and great men who have been struck down by those interests? Henry Clay, as I have already told you, fell a victim, in my judgment, to the Southern demands in regard to the slave question. Silas Wright, beyond all doubt, fell a victim to the same exactions on the part of the Administration now in power, which combined for his destruction.

Shall we wait now and join this eminent Senator at Marshfield, (who seems prepared, I might almost say, to draw a wagon across his own throat, and I say it with respect,) standing as he has stood for thirty years, seeing that although he may be "an Old Colony Whig, and a Massachusetts Whig, and a Marshfield Whig," and never lived to be a *Southern* Whig, or to get support from that region of country, with the Southern grave yawning for thirty years immediately before him—arriving at the close of a brilliant life, eminent unquestionably as he is for his intellect, (Voice in the crowd, "Three cheers for Daniel Webster!" cheers, groans and hisses,) eminent as I say he is, for his intellect, one of the ablest men, beyond all question, that ever existed in the United States—I regret that under those circumstances he should not feel called upon to oppose a nomination which is made upon mere military grounds, as he says himself—which was not fit to be made, as he says himself—strikes death to all living American statesmen, or to the idea that civil wisdom, great prudence, great experience, learning and capacity, are to be the requisies for the discharge of the duties of the office of President of the United States, but starts a theory which offers up as a sacrifice at the shrine of Taylor a holocaust of American Statesmen—a theory which might be ran to extreme absurdity.

It is a theory which would hardly be satisfied by making Tom Cribb prime minister to England! I repeat that in such a condition as this, where if he had thrown his sword into our scale, victory would assuredly have gone to our standard—when two speeches from him in Ohio, and two or three speeches in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, would have settled the result of this Presidential election [Bravos,] by the people who should settle it, and not by Congress who should not—I regret, under these circumstances, that he should only have thought fit to join in a stampede against all three of the candidates! I hope we shall ascertain who he intends to vote for amongst them all.

But, gentlemen allow me to say to you, that already much good has resulted from this movement—Members of Congress, I think, are beginning to learn that the whip which they feel on their backs, the handle of it is with the people, and not in the White House! (Great sensation and tremendous applause.) The manner in which they countermarched upon the question of Slavery in Congress at the last session, and towards the heel of it, shows that they begin to know where they live and where they have to go home to! (Loud and unrepressed enthusiasm.)

It has resulted in another good consequence—this uprising of the people, this movement of the masses has satisfied these leaders that, in order to be what they seem so many of them to aim at—elevated functionaries—it is necessary to conform to the opinion of the people—spurious opinion—that is manufactured at Washington. Why it has seemed to be the idea there for the last two years, that every individual must learn whther his views were palatable to the South, and when he learned that he was then in the high road to promotion.

The tendency of the times along back has been that when a man has arrived at the dignity of being the supervisor of his town—thinking that perhaps after Tyler and Polk all things were possible—took it for granted that he was to be President of the United States at the very next election, and that it was all-important that he should stand uncommitted upon everything! (Laughter.)

Another good consequence—what I call a good consequence—is, the agitation of the evil of human Slavery has been commenced by the South. The great mass of reflecting men at the North were willing to leave, as the Buffalo Convention now leave, this evil to be cured by the States themselves. They had the power, and were willing that they should take their own time to rid themselves of the evil that they felt most. But the South were not content with this, while we contented ourselves with attempting to remove the evil of slave representation. I allude now to the majority of the citizens of the North.

We stood with our lips sealed on this question of Slavery, suffering the South—as we were acting with them under the Constitution—to remain unmolested by others. They have assumed to make this a test in the Presidential question—to press this question into the contest—and they have designed, and do design, to overrun this free country, and plant the evil of human Slavery there. This invites resistance; this invites discussion. And those who have been saying, "What shall we do?" firmly believe that to buy and sell the body of a living human being, in this age, is *a sin and a curse!* (Universal "Yes! that's the doctrine!" and ungovernable applause.) We are compelled to say so in self-defence. We are compelled to say so to resist aggression—to discountenance oppression—to uphold the policy adopted in the Revolution, founded by Jefferson, and carried forward by the patriots of this country from that day to this—and do you believe erected out of the enterprise and intelligence of the Northern portion of the country—looking at the evils of this institution—looking at the example of the civilized world—Denmark, Great Britain, Turkey, France—pointing these Southern people to these glorious examples—urging upon the attention of the whole world this black spot upon our national escutcheon—do you believe for an instant that we shall stop, and the ghost will rest, by putting an end to the encroachments of Slavery, or even to its existence in territories?

This discussion, this calling public attention to these things, this calling of the attention of the civilized world to them, and its necessarily calling the slave himself to his condition, will, beyond all question, compel the abolition of Slavery! (Immense response from the audience, and cries of "that's it!") Do it constitutionally—do it peaceably—do it by reason and intellect—and as the American people are proud to do everything. And, gentlemen, it is no wonder under those circumstances that this excitement prevails in the Free Soil Party. It is no wonder under those circumstances that there is this enthusiasm and zeal. It is no wonder that they go forward with such prodigious energy, for it is the greatest battle that was ever fought by the people of the United States! (Great demonstration of approval.)

The American Revolution was fought to achieve our independence from Great Britain. The late war was fought to establish the freedom of the seas. But the civil contest now waging is to achieve personal freedom and universal emancipation. (Repeated and overwhelming cheers.)

It must, therefore, stimulate the energies of this people. It would necessarily do so. And it will not be enough, standing as we do on the platform of the Revolution, to say hereafter "I am an Old Colony Whig—I am a Massachusetts Whig—and I am a Marshfield Whig;" but you will have to be something greater and better—a Revolutionary Whig! (Applause.) In such a contest as this, I can answer only for one State. I speak decidedly of the State of New York. I speak, of course, under a liability of being mistaken, but I think I can say with safety, that I do not know another man who has seen and heard as many people speak as I have during the last six weeks.

I have been in public meetings in New York, Albany, Syracuse, Auburn, Buffalo, Warsaw, Genesee, and Goshen, Williamsburg and New York again—seeing, I should suppose, sixty thousand people in the most dense population which there is in the State of New York. I concede fully my liability to be mistaken, and I give to you the sources of information open to me, and I think I can assure you with entire confidence that the thirty six votes of that State will be cast for the Buffalo nominations. ("Three cheers for New York!" called for and heartily responded to.)

New York has been invaded not for the first time.—We have had the Baltimore nominee for the Presidency, traversing our State with Col. Benton, Senator Allen, and others of less influence, to assist him on his way. (Laughter.) We have now the high honour to have also, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Postmaster General; and the organ of the Government promises that the President is to follow in five days! He has commenced the war of vengeance against our State, determined that we shall either bleed or starve. Unlike other foreign enemies that bear down upon us—down, did I say? I ought to say up—leaving the associations, I say, at Washington, he comes not only geographically, but intellectually, morally and politically up, when he comes to New York! (Laughter.) Bearing up upon us, then, he does not even fire a gun to leeward, but fires at Mr. Butler upon the stern and kills the first man he fires at! It was certainly after Mr. Butler had been the individual in the New York delegation that put him in nomination—the only one of the 36 that separated from his fellows in the Council Chamber in 1844, returned into the Convention and and put him in nomination, being followed afterwards by the other 35—the man who has sustained him steadfastly and sacredly to the extent of his conscience, which is all we ask of a man in New York, (laughter,) to cut off his head first, when he is upon the point of of supporting the regular Democratic nomination of the State of New York, is a degree of malignity not to be expected and not often succeeded.

But such acts directed against our State—a State numbering two and a half millions of people—receiving and paying into the Treasury of the United States nearly one half of all the duties received in this country—with 700 miles of internal communication—with unbounded physical wealth, great intellectual resources, morally, politically, physically—one, at least, of the great States in the Union—why, it required the ingenuity of a Tennessee lawyer to imagine that he could influence the action of that State by giving or withholding a few thousand dollars! He will find, when he comes, a Democratic party true to principle—a Democracy that means something.

He will see a party that recently gave that miraculous proof of their forbearance, faith, energy, and fidelity, by elevating him to the Presidential office. (Great applause.) He will see that they never forgot the respect that is due to the office of President of the United States, and to make that compatible with the respect they feel for themselves; they will let him alone smartly! (Great laughter and repeated cheering.) No matter what appliances may be brought to bear upon the State of New York—no matter what ingenuity or personal exertion may be there expended—you may rely with entire confidence upon my sincerity, when I tell you that I believe the result will be what I have already told you I thought it would be. And if that be so, in my humble judgment, no other ticket can be elected by the American people.

What Congress will do, I am utterly unable to say—but that a popular election can be made of any other candidate, without the vote of New York, I have not the slightest reason to believe. The South is notoriously divided—the Southern electoral votes will be distributed unquestionably between Taylor and Cass.

No reasonable calculation can be formed without New York, which will give either of those gentlemen sufficient electoral votes to make him President of the United States, and under such circumstances, I feel as if the Buffalo ticket had as good a chance of election as any one of those now before the people! [Cheers.]

Of this State, I would not presume to speak—the State of Massachusetts must speak for itself. [Cries of "it will, it will!"] But I have taken some pains to show what is the platform upon which we stand. WE STAND UPON THE PLATFORM OF THE REVOLUTION, sketched and planned in the Declaration of Independence—consecrated to Liberty by the best blood shed at Lexington and Bunker Hill—and I should be guilty of infidelity to the citizens of this State—to the cause of human liberty—if it could be inferred that I believed, standing here in these old headquarters of Freedom, anything else but that Massachusetts would stand on and by this glorious and true platform!

[Mr. Van Buren sat down amidst the tumultous plaudits of the vast assemblage.]

ADDRESS OF THE FREE SOIL CONVENTION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In a new and critical posture of the national affairs, large numbers of the freemen of this Commonwealth have assembled in their respective towns, to consult for the common safety. An exigency exists, calling for an extensive combination of counsels and endeavours.—They have judged that a Convention of Delegates, selected by them in their several neighbourhoods, and representing the views entertained in all, might serve to give concentration and effect to the patriotic sentiment of Massachusetts.

By their appointment we have come together, in the time-honoured metropolis of New England. We have taken counsel of each other. We have compared our views, and those of our different constituencies. Cautiously and anxiously,—in the love of man, (we trust) and in the fear of God,—we have inquired what was the dictate of duty.

We have determined on our course. It is one not unattended with difficulties and sacrifices. But as we understand our obligations, they leave us no alternative.—We adopt that course with no misgivings; diffident of ourselves, but strong and confident in our cause,—not unmindful of the greatness of the obstacles to be overcome, but remembering that results are with a higher Power, which does not permit worthy efforts eventually to fail.

We ask your attention, fellow citizens, to some of the views which have presented themselves to our minds, prescribing the course of action we have resolved to pursue.

Our American institutions were formed on the principle of liberty. Our ancestors came hither to find an asylum from the civil and religious despotism of the older world. Their remote and self dependent situation fostered and developed the free spirit that came with them.—When, at length, the time arrived for a severance of the ties which had held them subject to a foreign Government, their Declaration of Independence announced "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and "that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." In this sign they fought and conquered; and when, in the sequal, they proceeded to erect a Federal Government, they declared it to be "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity."

The Federal Constitution was established sixty years ago. In the time that has followed, the high wisdom of its aims and provisions has been amply manifested by experience. But there existed already one element of mischief, of a power and malignity not then dreamed of.—There were in the country six or seven hundred thousand coloured slaves, mostly in the Southern region. Their introduction, in disregard of the interests and remonstrances of the colonies, had been a cause of resentment and complaint against

tory "ceded or to be ceded" by any of the States, and accordingly including the territory now embraced in the States of Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama. The measure in this form was lost by the want of a single vote. Twenty-three Delegates were present, representing eleven States. Sixteen Delegates voted for the measure, seven against it—six States in the affirmative—three only in the negative. But under the rules of proceeding in the Continental Congress, these majorities were not sufficient.

The beginning of the present century brought upon the stage of active life a generation not instructed by any suffering experience of its own, respecting the worth of liberty, and the necessity of perpetual vigilance for its protection,—a generation, at the South, debauched by the lust for power, and at the North, too much engrossed by the cares of gain to be duly watchful against the usurpations that were threatened. With the growth of the country, public offices had become numerous and lucrative. The owners of slaves, through their possession of the property and of the education of nearly half of the States, were able, though comparatively few in number, to monopolize political influence, and the prizes of political ambition in those communities. In the National Councils, slaveholders represented those communities, spoke their voice, and exerted their weight; and, practising the vigorous and artful tactics of a united and well-trained oligarchy, playing off parties in the other States against each other, prompt to enlist needy talent in all sections, liberal to reward services, and remorseless to punish opposition, they virtually succeeded in possessing themselves of the Government of the United States. Out of more than three millions of American voters, not more than three hundred thousand, at a safe estimate, are slaveholders, and the proportion was never greater than now. Yet in fifteen Presidential terms, slaveholders have exercised the supreme magistracy twelve times; while seventeen Judges of the Supreme Court have been slaveholders, out of the whole number, twenty-eight; fourteen Attorney Generals out of nineteen; sixty-one Presidents of the Senate *pro tempore*, out of seventeen; twenty-one Speakers of the House of Representatives out of thirty-two, and eighty Foreign Ministers out of one hundred and thirty-four; and the proportions of Cabinet Ministers, and of high military and naval officers have not been materially different.

The possession of such a power [illegible] nish to the privileged class which held it, both means and motives to provide for its maintenance and increase. Mr. Jefferson and the patriots of the Confederacy had excluded Slavery forever from the five States to be formed from territory then possessed by the United States, and they had all but succeeded in providing for its perpetual exclusion from territory which might come into their possession at any future time. But Kentucky and Tennessee, and at later periods, Mississippi and Alabama, (parts of old States,) were received into the Union with the slave institution and the slave representation, and at each step the balance of power and the securities of liberty were further disturbed. Whatever weight a calculation of this element of political ascendancy may have had in determining the measure of the purchase of Louisiana, the accession of that country revealed to the slaveholder the extent of their power, and emboldened them for the policy which they have steadily pursued. Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas, were admitted as States, with a slave population and a Slavery representation in the National Government. At the adoption of the Constitution by the old Thirteen States, seven had either no slaves, or so few that they were properly called Free States, and the Ordinance of '87 provided for freedom in the five States to be established northwest of the Ohio river, while Slavery was believed to be destined before long, under the natural operation of a right public sentiment and of free institutions, to disappear from the remaining six, thus finally removing so uncongenial and noxious an element from the operations of the Government.

So far was this expectation from being fulfilled, that since 1812, when Louisiana was admitted, the number of free and slave States, (allowing for short intervals,) has been equal. The slave States with their comparative small population, have held and hold, half the votes in the Senate of the United States; while in the House, in addition to the representation of their free population, they have a force of twenty-three members, representing their chattel slaves. With these advantages, an oligarchy small in numbers, scattered through fifteen States, by the energetic exercise of a power founded in their ownership of coloured men, have controlled, and now control the foreign and domestic business of this nation of twenty millions of people. Within our State limits, we manage matters in our own way, and so as to suit ourselves. But in the National Government, they have been, and they are your rulers and masters.

If power wrongfully possessed, were not liable to be wrongfully used, political rights would less deserve to be contended for. The Slave Power, established over us by bold usurpation, has wreaked upon us flagrant, insulting, outrageous injustice.

In the slave States it is impossible that the constituencies, though mostly consisting of nonslaveholders, should be qualified for a proper exercise of the elective franchise, because it is impossible that there should be any system of general education, to prepare the elector for his momentous trust. It is not for the interest of the privileged class to open the door to their poorer neighbours for competition with themselves, as there would be danger of doing, if they should open common schools. But were it otherwise, a state of society harbouring Slavery, cannot possibly sustain that benificent institution, by reason of the distribution of the land into large tracts, and the consequent absence of neighbourhoods sufficiently compact.

Hence unavoidably follows in such a society an incompetency of the mass of the voters for the duty which our institutions commit to them. The National census of 1840 is understood to have been far too favourable to the Southern States in this particular; but according to that census, one person in thirteen of the adult white population in Georgia and South Carolina, and in North Carolina, one in nine, could not read or write, while according to a recent estimate of a Governor of Virginia, nearly one quarter of the applicants for marriage licenses in that State in the year just then elapsed, were unable to subscribe their names. People thus uninstructed, while invested with the power of the whole within their limits, are, as to its exercise, at the mercy of the well educated few. They have not the means of bettering their condition, so as to make themselves felt in the direction of affairs. They cannot have the self-respect which belongs to industrious occupation. Their knowledge, their sentiments, their prejudices and passions, their likings and antipathies, are such as they gather from the dictation of their slaveholding superiors. So disqualified for any intelligent choice, so incapable of being anything but tools are the masses of those who choose a large proportion of our rulers. On the other hand, the rulers so chosen, trained under circumstances unpropitious to justice and moderation, "nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny," as the slaveholder Jefferson declared them to be, cannot be expected to manifest a cautious regard for the rights of others, while asserting, using, and extending what they have deceived themselves into regarding as their own.

No rights have been watched over with more jealousy by the free race to which we belong, than freedom of speech and of the press. But on a subject surpassed by no other in importance, there is no freedom of speech or If the press for the dweller or visiter in a slave State of by voice or writing he presumes to utter his sentiments on that subject, it is at the known peril of his life. No despotism of Europe or of Asia recognizes a more complete denial of these rights.

Even the personal liberty of the northern freeman is no longer safe in the slave States. Men and women of our people visiting those States for lawful purposes, are forcibly taken from their vessels to be imprisoned, and when discharged, to be fined to the amount of the cost of their detention. If they come a second time, they are scourged. If a third, they are sold into perpetual Slavery. No friendly nations treat each other thus. No hostile nation ventures to offer such intolerable indignity and wrong, till it is all ready for the chances of war.

The persons subjected to such abuse are a minority of our numbers as to colour. But the Constitution and laws of our Commonwealth, recognizing them as our equal fellow citizens, identify our rights and safety with theirs,—make our duty, and honour, and their protection, a common cause; and the Federal Constitution, our compact with the other States, guarantees to this class of our citizens, equally as to the rest, "all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." They vote with us in the choice of our rulers, State and national. They pay their share with us in the expenses of the Government. Not one of us has a more complete right than they to protection by the public arm. But they go peaceably where they have a perfect right to go and come among their fellow American freemen, and a brutal violence draws them to prison, to the whipping-post and the auction sale.

We undertake to draw over them the shield of law. We commission a grave and prudent citizen, a man among the highest in our confidence and regard, to go and claim for them that protection before the supreme tribunal of the nation, which it could not refuse to extend. But his fairer complexion proves to be no protection to him. He is expelled with indignity and outrage. A Southern State drives out from her borders a Massachusetts citizen who is there to plead in the National court of justice for the rights of Massachusetts citizens. People of Massachusetts! Men of English, of Puritan blood! Kindred of the hearts that have beat with New England manhood through seven generations! what feelings possess you when you think of such wrongs? Are they fit to be borne? Is it fit that you should consent to, and pamper, and fawn upon the arrogance that dares to inflict them?

It would be a long task to point out how more and more of late years, as the Slave Power has acquired confidence and skill by a series of successful experiments, it has dictated the general policy and legislation of the country; how it has decreed war and peace, acquired and yielded territory, lavished Northern money and repudiated Northern debts, spurned petitions, extinguished Indian titles by the violation of Indian treaties, and arranged to its satisfaction matters of currency, revenue, and finance. Four or five years ago, it found itself grown strong enough for an attempt, bold in the highest degree, and of doubtful issue, but promising, if successful, to give it an absolute preponderance in the politics of the nation, and lay all other interests at its feet. Mr. Tyler and his counsellors resolved on the incorporation into the Union of the recently revolutionized State of Texas, which, by a repeal of the system that had existed in it while a part of Mexico, allowed the existence of Slavery, and which was large enough, by a division into several States, to introduce numerous representatives of Slavery into the two houses of the American Congress.

The wind was sown, and the whirlwind is now upon us. The official correspondence of Mr. Upshur and Mr. Calhoun, successive Secretaries of State, does not disguise the object of fortifying Slavery by the admission of Texas into the Union. Appropriately to its purpose and character, the measure was carried through by means, the memory of which will cause a patriot's cheek to crimson to the end of time.

An early consequence appeared in the war with Mexico. In the prospect which was opening of the extension of slave soil even far beyond the bounds of the newly acquired country, the angry remonstrances and hostile acts of that power, in resentment of what she denounced as a violent partition of her territory, were easily interpreted not only as cause of war, but as war itself; and a conflict having taken place on the disputed ground, was forthwith declared by the American Congress to exist "by the act of Mexico." In its progress, our arms have overrun the best part of the territory of that Republic. We have taken her capital and several of her provincial cities. We have ravished, impoverished, miserably distressed, and finally struck her to our feet.

We have done it at some cost. Not less than fifteen thousand of our own people have perished in the war, while the yet larger number of those who have returned with maimed bodies and shattered health is not to be reckoned. The money already paid, and hereafter to be paid for it, cannot be rated at less than two hundred millions of dollars. In 1842, a tax in Massachusetts of seventy-five thousand dollars for a single year, was thought by numbers to be be good cause for a change in the administration of the Commonwealth. But a tax of seventy-five thousand dollars a year for two hundred years would not pay [illegible] and interest—the share for which Massachusetts must be assessed of the cost of the Mexican War.

The bloody work is over, and by the treaty of peace we have paid to Mexico fifteen millions of dollars, and she has surrendered to us one third of her territory, a country sufficient from which to carve out a hundred States as large as our own. Every step for the purpose of slave despotism has now been taken, except only the last. It now claims that territory as subject to its occupation and sway, and designs and expects to make good the claim by like appliances by what it has prospered by heretotore. But the local laws, which remain in force till the conqueror changes them, forbid the introduction of Slavery, and will not bear its presence. In the newly acquired provinces, it must be introduced and established by the authority of the United States, or it cannot exist. In this new field of conflict with that diabolical power, freedom occupies a ground of peculiar advantage. In the Southwestern territories and States previously admitted, Slavery had already an actual existence, and the argument of the slave power for leaving the existing order of things undisturbed, had its weight. But the slave power now insists that the existing order of things shall *not* be left undisturbed; that universal freedom shall give way for the admission of Slavery; that on soil now glad with liberty, it will plant a foot that never steps anywhere but as the trampler of men, and as the curse of God; that you must not strike from its hand the prize it so coveted, and seemingly all but grasped, that you shall not keep it from holding slaves in California and New Mexico, because that would be just so much obstruction of its plan to make slaves of you.

Simultaneously with the progress and close of the Mexican war, the Presidential election has been approaching and, as usual the leaders of the two great parties have been calculating on the favour of the energetic slave power as an essential element of success. Dividing itself between the two parties, it is in a position to to manage both, while with both it makes assent to its pretensions and inflexible condition of its support.

The party of the present administration selected its candidate last May. He had first made the most distinct engagement, to abstain from any official act interfering with the designs of the slave power upon the territories, an engagement, under the circumstances, worth more than a promise of abstinence from opposition, and naturally interpreted as an assurance of positive support.

Till about two years ago, it seemed to be the general expectation that the next candidate of the Whig party would be taken from the North. In that region lay its chief strength, and it was deemed imprudent for the present to provoke further the growing complaint that the South only was looked to for Whig Presidents, while the North had to be relied on for Whig votes. But as the prospect of conquests in Mexico opened, to be a theatre for Freedom or for Slavery as the future should determine, the question of the affinities of the future candidate with Freedom or with Slavery, assumed in the eyes of Southern statesmen a new importance. For honour's and for decency's sake, to say nothing of [illegible] duty, no Free State Whig, among those to be thought of as President, could be relied upon to lend the influence and authority of that office in favour of Slavery extension.

While Slavery was casting about for its Whig candidate, a hitherto obscure field officer, whose life had been passed in frontier cantonments and camps, and who had only been heard of for some fighting against a forlorn set of Indians in Florida, suddenly emerged into notice by a series of successful conflicts with the Mexicans. His courage and conduct in the field, and his moderation and modesty in a position so new, won for him a popularity and favour, of which the Slave Power delayed not to take advantage. Identified with the domestic institution by birth and education and the associations of his whole life, he was himself a large slaveholder in the extreme South-west. Utterly without experience or knowledge of civil affairs, he would be, as to a choice of policy and measures, at the mercy of those whom social affinities would lead him to call to his councils, while, with a soldier's habits, he might be expected to move to the accomplishment of his purposes with a hasty and peremptory will. The Legislature of Louisiana, without distinction of parties, named him for the Presidency. Mr. Calhoun and the South Carolina democracy appeared to favour the scheme. The Southern Whig leaders were distressed with apprehension lest the prize of such a candidate should be wrested from them, and redoubled their efforts to make him theirs. Such a rivalry for the possession of him gave him a singular importance. It invested him with a great show of availability. Northern political jobbers turned their waiting eyes to the rising sun, and stood all ready to be practized upon by the old fashioned arts and blandishments of the Slave Power, and to lend their cunning aid in carrying out its designs. In June, a Convention of delegates from Whig constituencies,—but as it turned out, not a Whig Convention,—met in Philadelphia. A little farce was acted through for the satisfaction of simple people, and then the prearranged work was done; and Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana and of the army, who never cast a Whig vote in his life, totally ignorant, by his own confession, of the principles which give the party its distinction and its name, received what was called the Whig nomination for the Presidency.

By what pretences and indirections this result was brought about,—by what artifices and seductions of Southern politicians,—by what abject submissions and foul treachery of representatives of the honest freemen of the North, is not now to be told. Some of the facts of that shameful chapter in history, have been laid before you, by honourable men cognizant of them. Many more, it is believed, remain to be revealed.

Freemen of Massachusetts! neither of the candidates so presented for your suffrages, must be chosen to preside over the destinies of this people. The awakened North has declared that neither shall be chosen, at least without a great patriotic effort for their defeat, and the defeat of the odious power which they represent, and would serve. A peaceful revolution is in rapid progress, equalled by nothing since the revolution of Independence in the tone of feeling that inspires it, and hardly yielding even to that in the magnitude of its object. The tidings of the betrayal of freedom by those who in such a crisis had its interests in their charge, had no sooner gone abroad, than hosts of its friends in their far-spread dwellings,—unambitious and quiet men, but men not to be cheated nor put down,—took the alarm and sounded it among their neighbours. Separated by hundreds and thousands of miles, they found each other out like old acquaintance. Without organization, breaking away from old organizations, struggling loose from long-cherished bonds, the sympathy of their patriotism brought them directly into energetic, united action. In two months from the date of the offensive transactions that aroused them, their representatives from eighteen States met in council to the number of tens of thousands. Another meeting of such numbers, animated and melted together by such a spirit of virtuous and stroag resolve, the world has probably never witnessed. Old party feuds and jealousies were already buried and forgotten. The strife seemed to be only as to who should make for the holy common cause the freest and largest surrender of long-cherished predilections.

On the most careful and mature deliberation, a platform of principles was laid down, so comprehensive and so simple as to secure a cordial union of all classes there represented, in its support. On the subject of Slavery its positions were taken with a strict regard to the Constitution, and a firm determination to secure all the territories of the United States for free labour, by express legal enactments against the extension of Slavery over soil now free, and to reject or repeal all compromises on this vital issue, and by all wise and lawful means to limit, localize, and discourage Slavery where it now exists. And on other points of national policy it presented a system of administration, broad, simple, impartial and beneficent, and at the same time, satisfactory to the reasonable and patriotic of all parties. From the moment of its announciation as a political creed and symbol, on the 10th of August, 1848, the downfall of Slavery and the restoration of the equal rights of American freemen are hereafter to be dated.

The principle of joint action settled and announced, the work was mainly done. The selection of candidates was a matter of secondary concern. The question upon that selection was only a question of the men who would most efficiently promote the common object. With full deliberation and then with cordial unanimimity, the Convention named for the first office in the Government, a former President of the United States, a calm, sagacious, and experienced statesman, always trusted by friend and foe, for fidelity to his pledges, and now fully pledged to the cause of freedom, and the only leading American politician who, under the crushing pressure of the Slavery influence, had the courage and patriotism to take that uninviting and critical stand; while for the second trust they selected a distinguished son of our own Commonwealth, eminent in all the abilities and accomplishments that qualify for public service, second to none in his devotion to the sacred cause, equalled by few in the efficiency of his past labours for its advancement.

Patriots of Massachusetts! these are the men whom we must help to elect, the men whose election will save the country from impending mischiefs, irretrievable in their nature, from threatened degradation of the lowest abasement. Already the mere apprehension of such a result has given to the liberties of America, a breathing space little anticipated by the most sanguine three short months ago. Contrary to every reasonable calculation upon the basis of the past, in the face of the most passionate remonstrances, and to the utter dismay of the domineering power that as usual looked for nothing but to have its own easy way; a Bill giving a territorial government to Oregon, with an exclusion of Slavery forever from its limits, has been carried through both branches of the National Congress and received the President's reluctant sanction. Selfish partizans in the high places of power found they could not stand against such an uprising of the long-abused people. Honest men were emboldened and encouraged to do a grateful duty.

Let the blow be followed up, and all will soon be well. For disgrace and threatened servitude, we shall have honour, prosperity, and safety. But let the cause of freedom now suffer a defeat, the quailing tyrants will take heart again, and rally afresh their now disorganized alliance. California and New Mexico, as yet not disposed of, present the really practical question. The manner of disposing of them, whether for the revival of freedom, or its overthrow, is to come before Congress presently after the approaching elections. Those elections will probably determine the great issue. The election of Mr. Polk was pleaded as the verdict of the people in favour of the annexation of Texas. So the election of General Taylor or of General Cass will be pleaded as the verdict of the people in favour of the establishment of Slavery in the provinces acquired from Mexico. The decision which has recently been had respecting Oregon determines nothing as to that which is to be had respecting New Mexico and California. That determination the freemen of the country will presently themselves, give, at the polls. So, at least, politicians will understand, or pretend to understand them, and will shape their own course accordingly. And let Slavery be introduced into those regions, to all human ken, the yoke of the slave despotism is fixed upon you and your posterity. With the formation of new States, supporters of the Slave Power, in overwhelming numbers, will be presently taking their places in the National Senate and House of Representatives, and your chance will be irrecoverably gone, for any peaceful deliverance from the tyranny which has already so fully made known its policy, its ambition, its resources, and its vigour.

Therefore it is, fellow citizens, that we are so deeply concerned not to suffer this opportunity for escape to pass by. The exigency of the times is extreme. Let the Slave Power strike successfully the single further blow it now meditates, and the future for the liberties of this nation seems enveloped in the blackness almost of despair. One of the pretences of those who would lull you into repose in this crisis of your country's fate, is that by a Constitutional resistance to the further encroachments of the Slavery usurpation, you will be loosing the bonds of the Federal Union. Nothing can be more opposite to the truth. The Union is in no real danger except from the continuance of those assaults upon your rights which now is the time to arrest, and which, if not arrested now, will at the same time be made before long intolerable, and be entrenched beyond the reach of any ordinary redress.—We who love at once Freedom and that Union which was instituted to protect it, are bound to arouse ourselves now and renew the holy alliance between them, lest the Freedom which can never be utterly surrendered while Pilgrim blood circulates in our veins, should have by and by to be recovered at the sacrifice even of the Union itself.

Some of the statesmen of the South, when a bold word has occasionally been uttered for your rights,—have thought to silence it by some flourish about danger to the Union of the States, but the threat is so empty and idle that it has come to be rebuked and ridiculed in the halls of the National Congress by their associates from the same region of the country. You will hear such threats as long as they are seen to unnerve and deter you from the manly assertion of your rights. You will hear them no longer, when it is seen that you understand and despise them. Even if it is [illegible] point of view for the interest or safety of the present slave-holding political leaders in the Southern country to plot for a dissolution of the Confederacy, it is not for them to say whether the people of that country shall undertake the execution of such a scheme. They greatly miscalculate their power where they propose it. Of the voters in the Southern States themselves, a large majority are non-slaveholders, men not only having no interests in common with Slavery, but far more wronged and aggrieved by that institution than even the freemen of the North. In the state to which Slavery reduces them, they do not understand their rights, nor feel their power. They follow their leaders from old habit, and act much from the prejudices which are instilled into their minds, and which their destitution of the means of knowledge does not allow them to escape. But, as a body, they know enough to love the Union and a serious proposal to disturb it would go far to open their eyes. When their leaders shall be so rash as to tell them in earnest that for the elevation of the Slave Power they must threaten and prepare to dissolve the Union, the leaders will soon be answered that they care for the Union most, and that if the two are to come in conflict it is the Slave Power that must abate its claims.

Fellow Citizens, the great movement now in progress for Freedom, Justice, and the Constitution, is anything but the formation of a sectional party, as it is one of the devices of the enemy to represent it. In the recovery of the violated rights which it aims to re-establish and secure, the great majority of the freemen of the South, the freemen who hold no slaves, have the same interest as the free citizens of the free States. They have far more than an equal interest. The Slave Power, much cause of just complaint as we have against it, cannot deprive us of our common schools, and other means of moral and intellectual culture, cannot warn us away from the paths of promotion and the fair prizes of society, cannot make our honest industry dishonourable, cannot reduce us to an inferior social *caste*. But all this it does for the non-slaveholding freeman of the South. The ignorance which makes so odious a part of the wrong they suffer, disqualifies them from a just appreciation and resentment of the greatness of that wrong. But to a wide and constantly increasing extent, their minds are now excited in relation to it, and already in several of the Slave States there is a vigorous movement towards emancipation, a movement, which whenever their will for it is matured, they are able to carry out by the quiet sentence of the ballot box.

Delegations from three slave States sat in the Buffalo Convention. Others would have been represented but for the shortness of the notice. Free Soil Conventions have been held in three slave States. A recent Governor of the slave State of Maryland, has announced himself to be with us. The cause of the vast majority of Southern freemen is identical with ours. Their stake in the issue is deeper even than our own. This is no sectional movement of North against South. It is a movement for freedom everywhere,—North, South, East, and West,—against the usurping power which has spurned and crippled it, and now is threatening its life.

Come then, friends, to the rescue of your country from great danger and dishonour. The object demands the support, by vote, voice and influence, of every considerate and patriotic man. No doubt, in order to promote it in the only practicable way, some personal prejudices and predilections must be sacrificed, some old and cherished associations, some pride of opinion as to former events and the actors in them. But the object is one entitled to any mere personal sacrifice it may cost. We must recover for ourselves the rights and the dignity of freemen. We must deliver the Constitution of our fathers from gross perversion and abuse. We must protect our posterity from the danger of becoming the base subjects of a domineering despotism. We must put the Government on a new track, in which again it may be a blessing to the increasing millions of the American people, and win the respect and confidence instead of being the scorn and scoff of the friends of liberty throughout the world.

Nothing less than this is the work we have in hand.—Let us address ourselves to it, fellow citizens, in a spirit corresponding to the greatness of its aim. In its prosecution, we cannot afford to be indifferent and sluggish; we *can* afford to be neither angry nor unjust. We seek no selfish end. Our object concerns ourselves no more than it does every other citizen; no more than it does those by whom we are bitterly opposed, and, it may be, vilified.—Let us spare no pains to win a glorious triumph for the Right. But while we proceed with the determination, let it be at the same time with the moderation and dignity, proper to Massachusetts freemen—to Christian patriots. Massachusetts is naturally looked for in the front of this holy war. No friendly eye seeks her elsewhere. The front rank has been her familiar place, whenever the good fight for liberty was waging. Let her resume that station now. Fellow citizens, we will place her there, and she shall lead on, as of old, the hosts of the just and the free. The time is short. Two months will bring the day, big with the fate of future times. Meantime, attention is to be aroused to the imminence of the danger, and the necessity for instant action. The real state of facts is to be made fully known, and the disguises by which selfish politicians endeavour to cover them up, exposed. When that is done, all will have been done, for the great heart of Massachusetts is always sound and true. Let every well-wisher to his country fulfil his part of this duty; and MAY THE RIGHTEOUS GOD PROSPER THE RIGHTEOUS CAUSE.

The following Resolutions with the Address, were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States was declared to be ordained "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty;" and,

Whereas, by long abuses of the Government so constituted, an oligarchy has been erected on the basis of human slavery, adverse to the rights of American citizens, and now threatening further encroachments upon their liberties, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the first duty of the freemen of the country, at every hazard and sacrifice, to arrest the further encroachments of the Slave Power, and restore their Government to its proper sphere and action. And,

Whereas, the Legislature of Massachusetts, for the last year, declared its "unalterable conviction that a regard for the fair fame of our country, for the principles of morals, and for that righteousness which exalteth a nation, sanctions and requires all constitutional efforts for the destruction of the unjust influence of the Slave Power, and for the abolition of Slavery within the limits of the United States," and had reiterated that sentiment through a series of years, denouncing the usurpation of the Slave Power as "an alarming encroachment upon the rights of the freemen of the Union, a perversion of the principles of Republican Government, a deliberate assault upon the compromises of the Constitution," putting at hazard the predominance of the principles of liberty in America, and justifying the adoption, on the part of freemen, of a systematic policy of counter action, by lawful and Constitutional means, even though that policy should ultimately bring on the downfall of Slavery itself; therefore,

Resolved, That the members of this Convention are confirmed in the sentiments deeply impressed on their own minds, by finding them to be the long-established and recognized sense of the venerated Commonwealth. And,

Whereas, during the approach of the now impending election of a President and Vice President of the United States, numerous bodies of Massachusetts freemen, assembled in their several districts, have solemnly resolved to support no men for those offices except such as were known by their acts or declared opinions to be opposed to the further extension of Slavery; and,

Whereas, at the moment when such extension is immediately threatened, Conventions, professing to represent the two great parties, have nominated candidates known, or on sufficient grounds believed, to favour the policy of extension; therefore, and for every conclusive reason of consistency, duty, honour, and safety,

Resolved, That Massachusetts freemen cannot have part or lot in carrying either of these nominations into effect.

Resolved, That the nomination for the Presidency which Daniel Webster has declared was "*not fit to be made*," the People of Massachusetts will decide is *not fit to be sustained*.

Resolved, further; That this Convention approve the Resolutions of the great Convention of freemen from eighteen States assembled at Buffalo on the 10th day of the last month, and adopt the same as the basis of their own political action.

Resolved, That this Convention approve the nominations of the Convention at Buffalo, of Martin Van Buren for President, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice President of the United States, as combining in each candidate the qualities of an accomplished statesmanship, and honest and enlightened desire for the public welfare; and that with vote, voice, and influence, they will sustain those nominations, to the end that the National Government may again be put on its proper track, and that liberty, peace, and prosperity, may be secured for the present and future generations.

Resolved, That in the coming Presidential election, the great question before the American people, is not whether a Whig or a Democrat shall rule the nation for the next four years, but whether the immense patronage of the General Government shall be placed in the hands of one who, we have good reason to believe, will use it to strengthen and perpetuate the Slave Power.

Resolved, That the period has at last arrived for a firm and solid union among men of all parties to oppose the Slave Power, to prevent the extension of Slavery, and to abolish it wherever the Federal Government are responsible for it under the Constitution of the United States; that all those differences which have thus far kept us asunder, are merged in harmony in this cause; that the political designations by which we have been distinguished are no longer applicable; that, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "we have called by different names brethren of the same principle;" and that from this time forward, all who unite with us in this great movement for Freedom are welcome to full and equal fellowship in the free democracy of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That following the example of other parties, and recognizing the necessity of such a course, this Convention recommends to all friends of Free Soil to apply the test of their principles to all candidates for political office, and especially to support, for the offices of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, member of Congress, and member of the State Legislature, such men only as are known supporters of our principles and of our political organization.

Resolved, That confiding in the ability, integrity, and firmness of principle, of STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, of Salem, and JOHN MILLS, of Springfield, and recognizing them as earnest opponents of Gen. Taylor and Gen. Cass to the Presidency of the United States, and efficient associates in the mighty movement for freedom, we hereby unanimously nominate them as our candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth, and trust to the good people thereof to sustain them by their votes.

Resolved, That this Convention repeats and adopts the language of DANIEL WEBSTER, uttered in Faneuil Hall, in 1825:—"*New Parties*, indeed, may arise, growing out of new events, or new questions; but as to those old parties, which have sprung from controversies now no longer pending, or from feelings which time and other causes have now changed, or greatly allayed, I do not believe that they can long remain. Efforts, indeed, made to that end, with zeal and perseverance, may delay their extinction; but, I think, cannot prevent it. There is nothing to keep alive these distinctions, in the interests and objects which now engage society. New questions and new objects arise, having no connexion with the subjects of past controversies, and present interest overcomes or absorbs the recollection of former controversies. All that are united on these existing questions and present interests, are not likely to weaken their efforts to promote them, by angry reflections on past differences. If there were nothing *in things* to divide about, I think the people not likely to maintain systematic controversies about *men*. They have no interest in so doing. Associations formed to support *principles* may be called *parties*; but if they have no bond of union but adherence to particular *men*, they become *factions*."

Resolved, That this Convention repeats and adopts the language of John Quincy Adams: "That in three-score years from the day of the Declaration of Independence, its self-evident truths should be yet struggling into existence, against the degeneracy of an age pampered with prosperity, and languishing into servitude, is a melancholy truth, from which I should in vain attempt to shut my eyes. But the summons has gone forth. The youthful champions of the rights of human nature have buckled, and are buckling on their armour, and the scourging overseer, and the Lynching lawyer, and the servile sophist, and the faithless scribe, and the priestly parasite, will vanish before them, like Satan, touched by the spear of Ithuriel. I live in the faith and hope of the progressive advancement of Christian liberty, and expect to abide by the same in death."

Resolved, That for the success of our endeavours we look to the guidance and blessing of Him under whose providence righteousness only can exalt a nation, and no righteous effort is doomed ultimately to fail.

THE PHILADELPHIA NOMINEES SOUTH.

It is amusing to read the various manœuverings of both the Cass and Taylor papers, North and South. In the South, the Whig papers appeal to the people to support Taylor, on account of identity of interest. A Southern President, himself a large slaveholder, could not prostrate Southern rights and institutions—a supposition that he would is regarded as the very quintessence of absurdity at the South. The Northern Taylor papers seldom copy the editorials of the Southern Taylor papers, in which the reasons for the support of Taylor are given. Neither do the Southern Whig papers publish the reasons of Northern Whigs for supporting Taylor.

The *Richmond Whig*, an able Taylor paper, has the following editorial, which we recommend to the consideration of such Northern journals as the *N. Y. Express* and *Albany Evening Journal*.—*New York Globe.*

Taylor and Fillmore in the South.—In looking over the accounts of the Whig meetings through the State, we discover that those persons who constitute them are composed, in a very great degree, of the largest slaveholders among us. They, it seems, are perfectly willing to trust Taylor and Fillmore—they have no fears for the safety of their property—they do not believe that the Whig candidates will, if elected, do anything to impair their right to their property, or to weaken their grasp upon it. It is those disinterested gentlemen, who have no slaves themselves, that are principally alarmed on the subject.

Those who really would be injured by any assault upon Southern rights or Southern property feel themselves assured, if other assurances were wanting, by the fact that Zachary Taylor is himself a slaveholder, and that he can do nothing to injure them which will not also injure himself at the same time. If a man goes on board of a ship to cross the Atlantic, does he require bond and security—does he ask pledges of the captain that he will carry him safe to the end of the voyage? Certainly he does not—He knows that the danger of the one is the danger of the other also. He knows that if the ship goes to the bottom, the captain and crew must go along with the passengers. Community of interest and of danger is the strongest pledge he could possibly give, and that he gives by the very terms of his undertaking.

So it is with Zachary Taylor. Why ask pledges of him upon the subject of Slavery, when the fact that his whole estate consists of land and negroes, and that when they go, he must be a beggar, is the very strongest pledge he could possibly give? Has Lewis Cass given any such pledge as this? Is his interest the same with that of the slaveholder? If every slave in the Union should be liberated to-morrow, does he lose anything by it?

If it can be supposed that he will be a watchful guardian over the interests of the South, is it not fair to suppose that Zachary Taylor will be far more so?

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK SEPTEMBER, 21 1848.

To the Memory of Thomas Hood.

Another star 'neath Time's horizon dropt,
To gleam o'er unknown lands and seas!
Another heart that beat for freedom stopt,
What mournful words are these!

O, Love Divine that claspest our tired earth,
And lullest it upon thy heart,
Thou knowest how much a gentle soul is worth
To teach men what thou art;

His was a spirit that to all thy poor
Was kind as slumber after pain,
Why ope so soon thy heaven-deep Quiet's door
And call him home again?

Freedom needs all her poets: it is they
Who give her aspirations wings,
And to the wiser law of music sway
Her wild imaginings.

Yet thou hast called him, nor art thou unkind,
O, Love Divine, for 'tis thy will
That gracious natures leave their love behind
To work for Freedom still.

Let laurelled marbles weigh on other tombs,
Let anthems peal for other dead,
Rustling the bannered depth of minster-glooms,
With their exulting spread.

His epitaph shall mock the short lived-stone,
No lichen shall its lines efface,
He needs these few and simple lines alone
To mark his resting-place:

"Here lies a Poet; Stranger, if to thee
His claim to memory be obscure,
If thou wouldst learn how truly great was he,
Go, ask it of the poor."

J. R. L.

NEW YORK BARNBURNER'S CONVENTION.—The Convention of the Free Soil party met at Utica on the 13th inst. The meeting is reported as having been fully attended, and to have gone off with a great deal of spirit, though the most distinguished of the leaders of the party in this State were not present. They made the following nominations:

Governor—JOHN A. DIX, U. S. Senator.
Lt. Governor—SETH M. GATES, of Wyoming.
Canal Commissioner—CHAS. A. WHEATON, of Syracuse.
State Prison Inspector—W. P. ANGEL, of Alleghany.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS,

State at large { ROBERT EMMETT, New York. / JAMES S. WADSWORTH, Livingston.

Thomas Jackson, Queen's Co.	Andrew W. Doig, Lewis Co.
Hiram Barney, King's	Chas. B. Hoard, Jefferson.
Samuel Waterbury, N. York.	Richard Hulbert, Oneida.
Bernard J. Messerole, N. Y.	Eliakim R. Ford, Otsego.
Thomas B. Tappan, N. Y.	Tracy Robinson, Broome.
Wm. F. Havemeyer, N. Y.	James S. Chandler, Oswego.
Sam'l. B. Ferris, Westchester.	Samuel Robbins, Onondaga.
Thomas Taber, Dutchess.	Artemas Cady, Cayuga.
Nathaniel Jones, Orange.	Henry B. Hartwell, Yates.
Abram A. Jeyo, Ulster.	Henry B. Stanton, Seneca.
John A. Beekman, Columbia.	Freeman Edson, Monroe.
Riley Loomis, Rensselaer.	John Dickson, Ontario.
Harmonis Bleecker, Albany.	Otis F. Marshall, Steuben.
James S. Whalon, Essex.	Wm. H. Tew, Chautauque.
Wm. B. Farlin, Warren.	Oliver Patch, Erie.
John Gilchrist, Saratoga.	Thomas C. Peters, Genesee.
Walter Booth, Herkimer.	James Van Horne, Niagara.

We copy the resolutions passed at the meeting:

Resolved, That the free Democracy of the State of New York will boldly apply truly democratic principles to the present great exigency in national affairs; but standing on the national platform of freedom, as opposed to the sectional platform of Slavery, and inviting to it all true friends of political and social progress—all whose democracy is not merely of the dead past but of the living present. They demand the extension to the territories recently acquired from Mexico, of the provision of freedom which originated with Jefferson, and has received in its application to various territories the official approval of Washington, Adams, Madison, Monroe, Jackson and Van Buren.

Resolved, That the constitutional power of the Federal Government to throw the protection of law around individual freedom in the territories of the United States, by enactments prohibiting the creation of Slavery therein, ought no longer to be a subject of question; not only is it expressly granted by the clear import of the language of the Constitution; not only is the design of the framers of that sacred instrument to confer it shown by cotemporaneous expositions of their intentions; not only is its existence confirmed by the authority of our accredited writers on public law, and the solemn determination of our highest judicial tribunals; not only has it been exercised by Congress in repeated instances during the administration of almost every President from Washington to Van Buren, and received the approval of those illustrious men; but it has been recognized in a manner that ought for ever to stop the supporters of the present Administration from denying it in the recent adoption of the Jeffersonian proviso, in the bill organizing the territorial Government of Oregon, which passed Congress after the fullest discussion, and was approved by our present slave-holding Executive, whose sworn duty it was to withhold his sanction if he was not satisfied that the provision was in conformity to the Constitution.

Resolved, That the duty of the Federal Government is no less imperative than its power is clear to maintain freedom in the territories; that, in all cases in which human Slavery has heretofore existed, or now exists, it has sprung from force or fraud, and has grown up without the original authority of law, the sanction of which it has never received until it became established: that the attempt made at the last session of Congress, and to be renewed at the next, to authorize it by express enactment, is the first instance in the history of the world, in which so monstrous and revolting a proposition has ever been made; and that the creation of human Slavery by the act of enlightened and republican America, in a vast and fertile region now free from its blighting presence, and from which it has been long since excluded by the more humane policy of semi-barbarian Mex

of the country. To do so would be to condemn every reformer from St. Paul to Martin Luther, and from Martin Luther to John P. Hale.

Resolved, That we honour the self-sacrificing magnanimity of John P. Hale in his recent retirement from his prominent standing as our Presidential candidate, not less than the courage with which he met and vanquished the champions of Slavery in the Senate of the United States.

Resolved, That we immediately proceed to the Court House in this city, and propose to the Free Democracy there assembled, the entire fraternity of Freemen, for the sake of Freedom, and that the President of this Convention be requested to present to that Convention a copy of these resolutions.

Mr. Underwood offered this additional resolution:

Resolved, That the Members of our State Central Committee be requested to act hereafter as a Provisional Anti-Slavery Committee, to take such measures as they may think proper to promote the Anti-Slavery Cause, especially in its moral and general aspects.—Carried.

A suggestion was made to name persons to this Convention who shall be supported in the Free Soil Convention, as the preferences of Liberty men.

In accordance with it, Preston King, Wm. Jay and Mr. Shepard of Wyoming were named for Governor.

For Lieut. Governor—Shepard of Wyoming.

Canal Commissioner—Wheaton of Onondaga, and Geo. Curtis of Utica.

For Electors at Large—H. B. Stanton of Seneca, and James Brown of Owego.

For Inspector of State Prisons—Abijah Fitch of Auburn.

It was moved and carried, to march in procession to the Court House, to join the Free Democracy there assembled. Adjourned.

SAMUEL D. BURRIS.—We had the satisfaction of an interview, a day or two since, with Samuel D. Burris who has recently been released from the State Prison, in Dover, Delaware. The crime alledged against him, was that of assisting in the escape of Slaves, the exasperated slaveholders asserting that he had destroyed absolutely to the amount of many thousand dollars the property of the State. He was at length taken under circumstances, which led to his conviction, after having been confined in jail, a part of the time heavily ironed, for nearly fourteen months. He was sentenced, under the law of Delaware, to be sold for seven years into Slavery under each indictment, but the first purchase was made by a friend, so that a second would be a wanton waste of money. Accordingly, by permission of his present master, Burtis wanders whither he will, and at the end of the term of his fourteen years' bondage, will be found probably where no slaveholder could lay his hand on him, were one so disposed, or had the legal right. He is now seeking employment at his trade —that of a blacksmith—or in any other vocation by which he can earn an honest subsistence for himself and family.

HENRY CLAY.—The editor of the *Express* has received a letter from Mr. Clay, in which he declines being a Presidential candidate. The *Express* publishes thus much of the letter, but suppresses the balance, which probably contained the comments of the distinguished Kentuckian upon the nomination by the Whigs of his rival of Mississippi whereby they committed the most shameful, treacherous, and base act of desertion that ever any party was guilty of towards a leader. We hope the Clayites, however, will follow the example the Barnburners set them in their first nomination, and stick to their candidate whether he will or no. The more candidates we have the better, for the less will be the chance of a choice by the people. A close fight in Congress would produce results, perhaps, not much looked for.

HOSEA BIGLOW.—It gives us great pleasure to announce that the poems of that worthy young man, and our esteemed correspondent, Mr. Hosea Biglow, are about to be given to the world in a volume by themselves. The work is under the editorial care of the excellent pastor of our young friend, Rev. Homer Wilber, A. M., whose profound erudition and chastened literary taste will doubtless give a shape and character to the volume, even as his spiritual teaching and moral guidance have filled the heart, and directed the mind of his already somewhat celebrated parishioner. The volume will appear early in October.

TESTIMONIALS OF GOOD CHARACTER.—The *Louisville Presbyterian Herald* publishes an extract from a letter of the Rev. Hugh Graham, of Farewell, Tennesee, which places our neighbours of the *Observer* in a proper light before the excellent people of that section of the country who serve God, according to the theology of the *Observer*, and the morality of Slavery. We can assure that pious and godly soul, Hugh Graham, that the *Observer* is entirely worthy of his regard, not only for the fact he refers to, but because of the eminent services it has rendered in other ways to the cause of the slaveholder. Its defence of its friends, moreover, is no lip-service merely, but warm from the heart—or the muscle that acts for one. Here is Mr. Graham's testimony:

"Not long since I thought I discovered in the *New York Observer* Abolitionism too strong for Tennessee. I shall stop their paper, said I, but concluded to wait a little longer, when I saw that one of the Editors was in England battling manfully for the South against the British Abolitionists!"

☞ THE WHIGS of this State in Convention at Utica last week nominated HAMILTON FISH and GEORGE W. PATTERSON as their candidates for Governor and Lieut. Governor.

Notes on New Books.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.—The September number of their reprint of Blackwood was issued by L. Scott & Co. before the arrival of the Steamer, and consequently even before any notice of the Edinburg Editionin the London papers could have reached us. We read it with the satisfactory feeling that we have got hold of nothing second-hand, but that we are laughing over the "Caxtons," or dozing over the "Review of the last Session" at the same moment with the subscribers to the original. The Contents of the present number are a Review of the last Session; To a caged Skylark; Sonnet—To Denmark; Life in the "Far West;" The Caxtons; Life and Times of George II.; The Great Tragedian; The Moscow Retreat; What would Revolutionizing Germany be at.

Foreign Correspondence.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

A good Morning—Pleasant Weather—Its cheering effects—Hopes of the Crops—The fear of Famine—The late rebellion—Cunning conduct of the Priests—Return from Scotland—Meeting with Mrs. Chapman and family—Contrast between the Scotch and Irish—The New York Tribune, and American Sympathisers—The Correspondent Comments thereon, and administers a well-merited rebuke.

KILLINEY, NEAR DUBLIN, Aug. 25, 1848.

MY DEAR GAY:—Did you ever see such a delicious morning as this? Here I sit in a pretty little marine villa, taken for the season by one of "my faction." It is perched on the side of those beautiful Killiney Hills which form the south side of Dublin Bay, and overlooks such a landscape and seascape as are always delightful to behold—but this morning pleasanter than ever. You know my fellow townsman, Moore, says, "How calm, how beautiful comes on the stilly hour, when storms are gone." Within the past few weeks all Ireland has been so horrified by such floods of rain and such unseasonable harvest weather, that along with the dread of the loss of our abundant potato crop, all of us who are not full of faith and philosophy have been exceedingly frightened. It is not easy for you, with your infinite expanse of fertile lands stretching back to the Pacific, to sympathize in the feelings of eight millions of your fellow creatures pent up in a little island, no bigger than one of your New England States, and very much occupied by bog and mountain, when the weather becomes unpropitious and threatens the destruction of the crop on which our ragged and poverty stricken majority depend for subsistance. Such was our position until the last day or two of fine weather gave us hope of escape from the ruin of all our crops, both potatoes and grain. So you will not wonder that I enjoy such a heavenly morning with redoubled zest. The Bay and the open sea looking towards Wales (but not seeing it, for Holyhead, the nearest point, is 60 miles off), are as calm as a lake, and studded with pleasure boats. Beneath me is Dalkey Island, and the rocky shore barely skirted with a fringe of foam which is hardly heard breaking at this height. The opposite side of the Bay is the Hill of Howth, about six miles distant. It is now bright and sunny, variegated with light and shade, and all the tints of green fields, waving corn, purple mountain heath, (the Scottish Highland *heather*) bleak rocks on its summit, and cliffs overhanging the sea. Over its hilly sides are scattered the straw thatched cabins of the poor, and the handsome country residences of comfortable citizens. At the end next the open sea is a pyramidal rock surmounted by a noble lighthouse, looking at this distance, pure, white, and stately—like a child's fancies of a guardian angel. Dublin occupies the centre of the semicircular sweep of land between Killiney and Howth. Coal being our chief fuel, the city is shrouded by a smoky canopy, and the intervening portions of the shore are covered with villages and gentlemen's seats, interspersed with gardens, fields and plantations. The combination of natural beauty and substantial property, is quite exhilirating. If you dropped down amongst us from some railway line (spanning the Atlantic), you would see little to remind you that you had alighted in miserable, starving, fighting, rebellious Ireland—this Ishmaelitish island of the west.

30th. Since the fine morning I have told you so much about, we have had nearly a week of fine weather, during which I have been unable to continue my letter. Fine weather was never more welcome; the alarm about the grain crops has greatly subsided, and the reports about another potato failure are less disheartening. The apprehensions of the loss of our potatoes filled us with much more dismay than the talk about the rebellion. This rebellion has been ridiculously exaggerated, and the crowings of the English press about its being so easily put down, show how extravagant was the exaggeration. You know that newspaper writers are apt not to put their candle under a bushel, so I may as well remind you that I have all along told you we should have no insurrection worth talking of; that although the masses of our people are disaffected, (and considering the lives they lead and the teachers they have, most naturally so), still they have sufficient discretion not to attempt a rising against the most powerful Government in the world with its compact, well disciplined and well fed army. Their would-be leaders, poor fellows, showed their want of common sense in nothing so much as in imagining that they had the smallest chance against such odds, or that any great number even of Iris men, could be got to follow them in such a Quixotic enterprise, in the teeth not only of the strength of the empire, but of nearly all the wealth and intelligence of Ireland. I always thought that Mitchell, O'Brien, and Duffy, were men of good intentions, as far as that can be said of those who recommend a resort to cruel war, and are willing to risk life, liberty and property in the experiment. In high-mindedness, devotedness, single-minded patriotism, truthfulness, and zeal for the good of Ireland according to their ideas, these unfortunate men are infinitely above the Old Irelanders. The Young Irelander was sincere: he wished for the independence of Ireland, and he said so. The O'Connellite desired the ascendency of the priests, and talked of the Repeal of the Union. If such a Repeal of the Union were effected (which was always out of the question, and never more completely so than now), Ireland would not be fit for any peaceable, industrious, free-minded man to live in. It would be more like Portugal in the 16th century than anything else I can imagine. The part played by the priests during the last few months, has been most instructive. At first it was evident their sympathies and good wishes were with the expected revolt. This was indicated in all the letters and articles that appeared from their hands in the newspapers, whilst few, indeed, were the instances in which the slightest attempt was made by them to warn their flocks of the madness and wickedness of an armed insurrection. When, however, the rebellion broke out on a very small scale under Smith O'Brien in Tipperary, and it was plain that it had not the slightest chance against even the police force—not to speak of the regular troops—nothing was heard on all hands, but the praiseworthy efforts of the clergy to dissuade their flocks from any participation in the revolt. The papers were filled with the most absurd glorification of the devoted loyalty manifested in this way by the priests. It is likely enough that this loyalty (so much better known than trusted), will be made the ground of an attempt in the next session of Parliament, to add the endowment of the Romish clergy to the other very abundant endowment with which the church of England is saddled upon us. One effort of such a stroke of policy might be, that a somewhat more aristocratic class of men would enter the church of Rome, and this would increase the chances of the civilization of the people; but from whatever class the priests are selected they will always prefer the interests and aggrandizement of their own system to every other consideration, and for the attainment of this object, they will never be very scrupulous about the means.

My last letter was posted in Portree, the tiny capital of the Isle of Skye. Its position is as romantic as you please, and its streets as dirty as you need wish to see. We had a prosperous voyage to Glasgow. We took two days to it, stopping one night, when about half way, at Oban. Our course was along the west coast, through the Hebrides, amidst delightful, wild, and rugged scenery—islands, and cliffs, and headlands, grand old castles, and mountains that for majesty of outline and picturesque beaty equal the Alps themselves, and would be quite equal to them, if they were only high enough. That is a big *if* to be sure. But you have often heard that *if* it were not for something the sky would fall. In Glasgow there is a vast deal of rags, filth, and wretchedness. They are not very obvious in the great thoroughfares, but I sought them out—I mean I sought out the streets where the poorer classes chiefly congregate, and I dont think I ever saw sights more disgusting, even in Ireland, certainly not in Dublin. The smells are horrible, and the extent of whiskey drinking past telling. But it is only fair to say that a vast population of the poor of Glasgow are Irish, and that the love of drink is not by any means confined to the humbler classes in Scotland. I never saw any town so filled with spirit shops of all shapes, degrees and sizes as Glasgow, nor anywhere Temperance Hotels so abundant. In this great city the teetotal advocate has a gigantic evil to combat, and this is the more surprising, as there is no part of the world in which orthodox theology is more sternly inculcated, or the observance of the Sabbath so bitterly insisted on. Many of the Scotch seem to be so bent on the care of their souls, that they have no time to attend to health, sobriety, or soap and water. The more is the pity for they are a fine people. It would be well for us in Ireland if we had more of their caution and steadiness.

A few days after our return home, I again crossed the channel, to see your friends and mine on their arrival in Liverpool from America. I spent four very delightful days in their society, and you may be sure I made the most of so rare an opportunity of learning about matters and things connected with the progress of the cause, from those who have been so long and so effectually interested in its success. After my unusually long absence of nearly four weeks from Ireland, the contrast presented on my return was extremely painful and humiliating. In the Scotch Highlands the people are of the same race as the native Irish. They are Celtic—in some parts their religion is the same. Their huts are almost as poor, and in some of the islands even more primitive in their construction than anything you will see, except in the very remotest corner of Ireland. As in Ireland you see plenty of poverty, and dirt, and the language universally spoken is the Gaelic, a cognate dialect to the Irish, and having no greater intelligible affinity with English than the language of Loochoo, or the Esquimaux. Yet, amongst these Highlanders, there is a degree of self-respect, an absence of mendicaney and servility, a regard to truth, not to be found in our vast pauper class. As compared with Glasgow or Liverpool, there is in Dublin an air of depopulation, depression, mediocrity, and indolence, that must strike the eye of every intelligent stranger, since it is painfully evident even to a native after a short absence. This is a state of things which no merely political change, no white or red republic can alter. We need a social reform more than a political revolution, and a moral reform worse than either. If we could be naturally imbued with a spirit of truth, self-respect and self-reliance, it would do us more good than all the nostrums of politicians. We should have the remedy then in our own hands. We should select 105 men of probity and character as our representatives in the imperial legislature, and then every demand made on behalf of Ireland would be—since there would none be made that ought not to be—conceded. Many sanguine people say that our population is not too great for the means of the country to support. Perhaps this is true, if the land were cultivated to the highest pitch, by all the appliances of capital and improved modes of agriculture; and if the produce were then divided by some system of communism in disregard of all the rights of property and the dictates of justice. But taking matters as they are, I believe that one third of our present population might be removed from this country to another with great advantage to all parties, if there were any means of effecting the transportation. I am informed on all hands that the tide of emigration is in full flow from most parts of the country, and that whoever amongst the farming population can procure the means are hastening to leave. In many places, few but the landholders and the paupers will be left behind. In fact the new poor law will eat up the rents. That is to say, a great portion of the money heretofore paid by the tenants to the proprietors, will be demanded for the support of the paupers in the poor houses.

Whilst I was writing this letter the New York Weekly Tribune you kindly sent me, came to hand. I have been greatly diverted by the Dublin correspondence, the lists of contributions from sympathizers with Ireland, the speeches of Bishop Hughes, Mooney, and others. These speeches and letters are full of proofs of gross ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation of the power of the disaffected in Ireland to cope with the imperial Government. The writers are all apparently unaware that it is the interest of every man in Ireland, who has any property to preserve, or is aware of the blessings of liberty, to withstand all the recent attempts and conspiracies to assert the independence of Ireland. They are ignorant that it would be about as foolish to attempt to establish the legislative independence of Middlesex as of Ireland, with the good will and consent of the most enlightened, intelligent, and wealthy portion of the Irish people—and without the consent of this class, no such attempt ever can succeed. It is amazing that such a man as Horace Greeley, of whose ability, intelligence, and goodness of heart I have heard so much, should lend himself to the promotion of a war of independence in Ireland, which, if it succeeded, would (in the estimation of those who love this country and its people) be so cruel, unscrupulous, plundering and bloody, that the events of June in Paris were but a trifle to it. The government that would spring from such an insurrection, if successful, would be simply the ascendency of anarchy and ignorant superstition above any elements of order and civilization that at present exist amongst us. How could Bishop Hughes, if he ever read or heard of the partial rebellion of 1798, venture to hope that the victims would prove "brave as the lion in battle, and gentle and *humane* as the dove when the battle was over." With what complacency these bishops talk of battles and their humanizing influence!

The Dublin correspondence is full of the most extravagant vapour; it is not surprising the American people are strangely mistaken about the state of Ireland when they depend upon such childishly swaggering informants. Nothing could be more ridiculous than the boasting there has been on the part of the newspaper writers, by whom the recent revolt was mainly stimulated and planned, except its absolute failure. More good would be done for the cause of liberty all over the world by the abolition of American Slavery, and the reconciliation of the acts of American politicians with their professions, than by anything they could do to promote the success of sanguinary conspiracies anywhere. Certainly it is only fair to say, that the spirit evinced towards the prisoners taken up for treason and sedition, and the treatment they receive, and the chance they have of a fair trial and of comparatively lenient punishment in the event of their conviction, contrast most favourably with the cruel and vindictive conduct of the public in Washington in the case of the unfortunate men who attempted to procure the escape of the slaves in the schooner "Pearl." If the love of freedom were genuine in the United States, these men could have secured the warm admiration and sympathy of the people. I do not deny or doubt the sincerity of much of the American sympathy with Ireland, but I am sure it is misinformed and injudicious when an attempt is made to prove it by armed intervention. Genuine liberty is never so well promoted by co-operation in acts of violence as by the promulgation of enlightened views, so as to shame the wrong doer. Ireland was ungoverned and ill-treated for so many centuries, that it is no wonder if the complication of misery, injustice, and unhappy circumstances which has ensued, be such as to defy the ablest men and the most strenuous efforts in the attempt to rectify them.

I have quite as much confidence in the good intentions of our present rulers, as in those of any of the leaders in the recent abortive rebellion, and very much more faith in their common sense and power to help us. At the same time there is, doubtless, great difficulty thrown in the way of a remedy by the ignorance and indifference of a large portion of the people of Great Britain respecting us, and their consequent inability to form correct opinions. A large portion of the English press is just as mistaken about us as the writers in the New York Tribune and other American papers: and above all, the London Times, the ablest and most influential paper in existence, is continually pouring forth such a flood of undistinguishing vituperation and misrepresentation respecting us as would be sufficient to goad any Irishman into hatred towards England, who could be urged by the folly and insolence of others into foolish conclusions. Surely falsehood, arrogance, ignorance and presumption are so active and influential that the truth has at all times a difficult battle to fight against them. If this were not the case the Abolitionists would have gained their point long ago, and you might have thus been saved the trouble of decyphering my exquisite calligraphy.—Yours truly,

RICHARD D. WEBB.

Foreign Intelligence.

SEVEN DAYS LATER

FROM EUROPE.

ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPA.

The Cunard Steamer, Europa, arrived at this port on Thursday last, having sailed from Liverpool on the 2d inst., making the passage in eleven and a half days.

Several of the Chartists in London and Liverpool have been tried and convicted, and sentenced to two year's imprisonment and fine.

The reports of the grain crops in England are less disheartening than a week ago: the potatoe rot is said not to be so extensive as was then supposed.

In Ireland, however, the potatoe is, according to the public prints, looked upon as lost, and the wheat crop is considerably below the average. The account from our own correspondent is more cheering, and probably more correct.

The trials of of the Irish patriots are not yet concluded.

In Paris General Cavaignac has rendered himself obnoxious by the suppression of several public journals. The editors have protested, through a committee, against this muzzling of the press, and the General has replied that it is necessary to do so till the republic is strong enough to bear attacks. Till then there is to be no opposition press.

The debate on the Report of the Commission on Revolts was held on the 25th and 26th ult., and MM. Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Caussidiere defended themselves before the assembly. The assembly decided that the two last should be proceeded against, and warrants were issued for their arrest, but they were not to be found.

Some fears were entertained of another insurrection, it being asserted that the Legitimists had allied themselves with the Red Republicans. Strict military precautions were taken by the Government.

An envoy is in Paris from Louis Philippe, asking pecuniary assistance from the Government, for his Ex-Majesty. The Government, it is said, will grant him enough to live on in a becoming manner, but not enough to excite a civil war.

The negotiations in behalf of Italy and Austria are not yet concluded. Charles Albert has again asked the aid of France to carry on the war.

There has been another insurrection in Berlin, but the object of the rioters seems not to have been distinctly understood; an engagement took place in which some were killed on both side.

A riot has occurred in Vienna, in consequence of a threatened reduction in the wages of the female labourers. It lasted several days, and a number of workmen, and of the guard were killed.

News Items.

The *Danville* (Ky.) *Tribune* of the 8th instant says that a "gentleman" of that vicinity recently whipped a negro woman so severely that she died a short time afterward. Walden, the inhuman being who perpetrated the act, has given himself up to the authorities who held him to bail for $1,500.

Hon. Edward Morris.—This gentleman is a member of the Liberia Senate, from Sinoe County *alias* (Mississippi in Africa.) He is now on a visit to his friends in Adams County, Miss. where he is well known under the title of "Ned Morris," the *liber homo* of Dr James G. Carson.

Frederick Douglass, the editor of the *North Star*, has just returned from attending the Convention of Coloured Men at Cleveland, Ohio. He says their sessions were well attended, both by white and black people, and much interest manifested in the proceedings of the Convention, and promises a full account of the things which were said and done, soon.

Free Soil in the District.—We have a long letter from Washington, describing the preliminary steps for the formation of a Free Soil party at Washington—Mr. Blair, the ex-official editor, being at the head of the movement.—[*Com. Adv.*

That many Southern Taylor men would prefer Butler to Fillmore we have conclusive testimony, but for what object the *New Orleans Bee* keeps the following standing in its columns we cannot imagine. The Abolitionism of Cass has never been discovered at the North:

"*Keep it before the People*—That no no man can vote for WM. O. BUTLER for Vice President without voting for LEWIS CASS, the Northern *Abolitionist* for the higher office of President."

At Louisville, Ky. on the 7th instant, Peter Roberts, a free man of colour, a regularly licensed Methodist Preacher, a member of the Indiana African Conference, and a Master Mason of the Philadelphia Lodge, was sold at public auction before the Court-House door, in that city for the term of one year. He was bought by J. L. Hyatt, for $75,50. An act of the Kentucky Legislature prohibits the migration of free negroes to that State under the penalty of $500, on which charge he was arrested and sold. Robert is a citizen of Jeffersonville, Indiana. A Correspondent of *The Pittsburg Gazette* suggests that this case be laid before the United States Supreme Court.

John R. Dufrocq, editor of the *Baton Rouge Gazette*, Gen. Taylor's home organ, says: "The report that Mr. Cass was about resigning in favour of Martin Van Buren, to harmonize the Democratic party, are not yet confirmed." The *Gazette* denies Webster's assertion that the contest lays between Cass and Taylor, and states that the contest lies wholly between Van Buren and Taylor. We find also in the *Gazette*, which is mostly an echo of the New Orleans Taylor papers, the following standing notice. What does it mean? Is there a Taylor and Butler party in Louisiana, too?—"Remember that you cannot vote for Wm. O. Butler without voting for Cass the Abolitionist."

A Remarkable Negro Character.—Adam, a servant of Rev. John M. Roberts, of Greenville, died in this village on Monday last. Adam once belonged to the family of the martyr Hayne of Charleston, and accompanied that noble man in his campaign as a body servant during the Revolutionary War, and during that period visited Virginia. His recollection of many of the officers, and among them General Washington, was very distinct and intelligent. He imbibed from his superiors a strong veneration for that great man, as well as for the other officers whom he knew, and to the day of his death spoke with enthusiasm about them, and always expressed the sternest indignation against the Tories. Adam was strictly honest, and in all respects trustworthy, and evidently was always so considered. Very soon after, or during the troubles of the Revolution, he became the property of Mr. Sloan, of North Carolina, the father of the late Alexander Sloan, of Greenville.

It is a favorable comment on the good character of Adam, that, during his whole life, he was treated with special confidence and kindness; and, notwithstanding the changes by death and the reverses of fortune to which all families are subject, he died at the age of 95 years, a contented Christian, in the protection of a connection of the family to which he belonged for sixty or seventy years past.

[*Greenville* (Tenn.) *Mountaineer.*

Cassius M. Clay in Trouble.—Some two years since, while Col. Humphrey Marshall's regiment of Kentucky Cavalry was encamped below this city, Capt. Cassius M. Clay was ordered by the Colonel to proceed with a detail of men and arrest some men who had left the camp without orders, and were supposed to be at a house of questionable character in the lower part of the city, kept by a woman named Eliza Boler. Capt. C. proceeded to the house, and being refused admittance, ordered an entrance to be forced, which was done, although several shots were fired from it, one of which took effect in the face of one of his men. During the affair the house was considerably damaged, and the furniture in it almost entirely demolished. Mrs. Boler instituted suit against Capt. Clay for the amount of damage she sustained, and the case was brought up for trial yesterday. After a patient hearing of the case the Jury returned a verdict of $501 damages against Capt. Clay. We understand that her counsel claimed that all who participated in the affair were liable, but suit was brought against Capt. C. he being in command, and regarded as fully responsible.—*Louisville Courier*, Sept. 12.

Our coloured brethren at the Court House have secretely resolved to give Ford 'tree weeks longer, to answer dat question 'bout Massa Taylor. If he is right, dey are *dar*. If not, den they are goin again him.—*Plaindealer.*

The above attempt to ridicule the coloured people who have just concluded their convention here, is entirely worthy of the Plain Dealer. But it fails. No sensible man who witnessed the decorum and ability manifested by the Convention will smile at such stuff. Mr. Douglass, a man, who if divided into fifty parts, would make fifty better men in all regards than the editor of the Plain Dealer, very properly commented upon the paragraph in a manner that would have caused its author's head to droop had he been present.—*Cleveland Free Democrat.*

American Board of Foreign Missions.—During the past year the Board's indebtedness had increased from $30,000 to $60,000. The state of the case having been made known, the subscriptions and pledges on the spot amounted to nearly $20 000. The slave question was brought before the Board, and an argument was heard on the Scripture authority for Slavery, which was participated in by several eminent gentlemen, President Blanchard, of Knox College, Ill., being the principal champion of the question. Here the matter rests for this year. The reports of the Committee on the several missionary stations represented them all to be in as flourishing a condition as could be expected. The Greek mission, under the charge of Dr. King, seems to have suffered the most during the past year. The Board lament the loss of one of the oldest Secretaries, Rev. David Green, on account of the failure of his health. Dr. S. L. Pomeroy, of Bangor, Me. was elected to fill his place. The other officers are the same as last year.

Married.

In Philadelphia, Hon. JAMES ROSS SNOWDEN Treasurer United States Mint, to SUSAN E. daughter of Major General Robert Patterson.

Died.

In Westchester County, State of New York, Commander ALEXANDER SLIDELL MACKENZIE, U. S. Navy, aged 45.

In this city, on the 18th instant, HENRY HALL SHERWOOD, M. D., aged 62 years, formerly of Watertown, New York, but late of this city.

In Plymouth, Mass. September 14, THOMAS DAVIS, Esq, of Boston, aged 67.

In Boston, September 14, of dysentery, GEORGE, only child of GEORGE and SARAH OSGOOD, 10 mos.

In Nahant, Mass., September 14, Margaret Champlin, wife of Hon. Benjamin Gorham, of Boston, and daughter of the late John Coffin Jones, aged 56.

OBITUARY.

A letter from Jos. and Ruth Dagdale, brings us the sad tidings of the death of Elizbeth L. Borton, of Selma, Clark Co., Ohio, who ceased her earthly labours on the 2d inst., after a short and painful illness, in the 63d year of her age. Her life on earth had been one of labour and faithful devotion to the cause of the oppressed, and active interest in all movements of human progress. Seeing the cause of the diseases, the sufferings, and the discords of earth in the violation of the divine laws, physical and moral, she strove to diffuse a clearer knowledge of those laws and spirit of obedience among men, and to lead them to love Truth and Right more than any selfish interest. While her sympathies extended to the whole human family, feeling that all were her brethren, she found her purest pleasures in the bosom of domestic life; and in the dark, cold shadow of coming death, the flame of her domestic love shone with an undimmed lustre. Her last words were a message of love to her husband, who lay dangerously ill in another room, and of peaceful trust in the merciful goodness of our Heavenly Father. She had been especially faithful in proclaiming and exemplifying Christianity as a practical, humane and reformatory religion, and in vindication of freedom of opinion and conscience, against the intolerance of Indiana Yearly Meeting, and the persecution of a blind spirit of bigotry. The fugitive slave, the suffering poor, and the heart stricken mourner ever found in her a true friend. She has done a good work; she has made the world better and happier; she has fulfilled her mission of love, and has gone to her higher labour and reward, leaving a bright example to lead others on to a life of virtue and philanthropy. Her pure and humble life beautifully illustrated the truth that "the path of the just is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry*: Verses occasioned by the suicide of Stephen Redden; Ode on Indolence; The Souls Defiance. *Miscellany*: The Archduke, John of Austria; The Cholera; Scenes in Paris—A Romance of the Tomb and Wedding; Godwin and Talfourd; Our Wondrous Atmosphere. Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

FIRST PAGE.—*Selections*: Speech of John Van Buren in Faneuil Hall; Address of the Free Soil Convention of Massachusetts.

SECOND PAGE.—*Selections*: conclusion of the Address of the Free Soil Convention of Massachusetts; The Philadelphia Nominees South. &c. &c.

Notices.

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of this Society will be holden at Hingham, commencing on Saturday evening, September 30, 1848 at 7 o'clock, and continue through the following Sunday, day and evening.—(Place to be hereafter named.) The speakers expected to be present will be hereafter announced.

We hope our friends throughout the county will so arrange matters as to be present. Let the existing hopeful state of things excite us, one and all, to press yet onward in the glorious cause. An invitation is extended to all persons to meet with us, and take par in our deliberations.

ELMER HEWITT, President.

H. H. BRIGHAM, Secretary.

South Abington, Sept. 10, 1848.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR OF 1848.

Demands of all the friends of the slave in this region, prompt and vigorous efforts in its preparation. We know some of them, both in town and country, have long been busily at work in its behalf. So well is it understood and felt, that the Fair belongs to Pennsylvania Abolitionists generally, that our Annual summons to the work seems scarcely needed, and almost a form. But we issue it as word of remembrance to the interested, and to arouse the lethargic—and to announce—at this important crisis—to an accessingly sympathizing community, an opportunity to labour for the cause. We invite the co operation of every heart that loves the slave, and would prove its love by its deeds.

To our numerous fellow-labourers in city and country it cannot be unnecessary to speak on the subject of the best manner of preparing for the Fair. In such preparation they are well skilled. To those to whom the work may be new we say, all pretty or marketable commodities will be valuable.

To *all* we say, make the slave's cause your own, if possible, and give liberally as God hath given you.

SARAH PUGH,	ESTHER RECKLESS,
A. MATILDA CASSEY,	MARIA M. DAVIS,
ANNA M. HOPPER,	ELIZABETH GAY,
JANETTE JACKSON,	HANNAH W. HAYDOCK.
MARGARET A. GRISCOM,	ELIZABETH DAVIS,
MARY GREW,	EMMA PARKER,
MARGARET JONES,	GERTRUDE K. BURLEIGH,
HANNAH L. STICKNEY,	EMILY A. WINSLOW.
MARY T. STICKNEY,	CLEMENTINE G. RUBY,
SARAH A. T. MC KIM.	MARTHA CARMIN.
THERSIA H. HALLOWELL,	SARAH T. CHILD.
HULDA JUSTICE.	ANNA M. CHILD.
ELIZABETH CARMAN.	MARY SHAW.
HARRIET D. PURVIS	MARGARET FORTEN.
PRISCILLA LUKENS.	ESTHER HOGELAND.
SARAH M. DOUGLASS.	ESTHER BURR.

ELIZABETH CLENDENEN.

Committee of Arrangements.

FIFTEENTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The undersigned, earnestly desiring the abolition of Slavery have been led, by the strength of their wish, carefully to consider what means may be found sufficient for the accomplishment of this great and holy object. They find that Slavery exists through the selfishness, the ignorance, the cowardice, the hypocrisy of the people. If the nation could be made more conscientious, disinterested, courageous, enlightened, and true to its own political and religious principles, the work were done. Until enough nobility of spirit can be awakened in the land to make the clergyman, the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, the merchant and the politician, willing to renounce their hopes of worldly success, and see their respective careers of individual advancement closed up, apparently forever, by their allegiance to Freedom;—to make the women of the land feel themselves disgraced by their indifference to such a cause as this;—to make the Christians and citizens of the land willing to bear the suffering and odium consequent upon an adherence to the right against law and custom:—until this can be accomplished, the Southern slaveholders are upheld in their sin by the powerful support of Christian fellowship, social sanction, and civil participation.

We determine, therefore, to strike at once at the root of Slavery, by appealing to the hearts and consciences of men and withdrawing their allegiance from such shameful cruelty and wrong, by the continual presentation of the paramount claims of Freedom and Humanity. Upon being strength that fact decides us to co-operate with any whose principles prove them to be trustworthy; who make the abolition of Slavery their primary object; and who, in addition to their honesty of purpose, have sense and sagacity enough to make them safe coadjutors, by securing them from becoming the prey of the selfish set of hypocritical adventurers that every moral revolution calls forth. We find such a sufficient and trustworthy body nowhere but in the American Anti Slavery Society. Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings, assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party: and, speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. While calling on all to unite with it, it has ever, by the energy and rectitude of its progress, been free without license, and elective without invidiousness. It is not too much to say in its praise, that its cause and its course repel all but the wise, the good, and the bold from active co-operation with it, and brand with dishonour the hand that approaches it to make it the instrument of any selfish purpose. It has no local attachments, no partizan or sectarian partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose; while, at the same time, every observer notices how happily its labours prepare the way for every good work: for, though specific in its object, its great principle of *immediate individual reform*, without awaiting the gradualisms of party politics, legislative action, and judicial decision, is one of universal application.

This, therefore, is the mode of operation which commends itself to our reason and feelings. The agents and friends which such an association of necessity draws forth, are the ones that we wish to sustain. The periodicals that such an association employs are the ones that we wish to circulate. In the councils of such a body where all persons have equal rights of membership, the *whole* collective energy and judgment are constantly in use, and the chances and means of success consequently doubled.

Hence we find it to be our duty, in preparing for the FIFTEENTH NATIONAL ANTI SLAVERY BAZAAR to commence in FANEUIL HALL BOSTON, on Thursday, DECEMBER 21st, to devote the funds then raised, to sustain the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in its sacred work of moral agitation and revolution in behalf of the enslaved, and confidently appeal to all good hearts EVERYWHERE, in aid of so noble an enterprise.

M. W. Chapman,	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Ann T. G. Phillips,	*Mary G. Chapman,*
Helen E. Garrison,	*Caroline Weston,*
Mary May,	*Susan C. Cabot,*
Eliza Lee Follen,	*Henrietta Sargent,*
Sarah S. Russell,	*Hannah Tufts,*
Louiza Loring,	*Eliza F. Meriam,*
Mary Young.	*Caroline F. Williams,*
Mary Wiley,	*Evelina S. A. Smith,*
Anne Warren Weston,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Maria Lowell,	*Ann R. Bramhall,*
Francis Mary Robbins,	*Harriet T. White,*
Lydia Parker,	*Abby Francis,*
Harriet B. Hall,	*Abby Southwick,*
Catharine Sargent,	*Harriet M. Jackson.*

All persons desiring the privilege of co-operating with us in this joyful and holy work, are informed that the pecuniary value of donations of money and materials, is doubled to the cause through the means of the Bazaar, by the care, skill, and ingenuity which are entrusted with their management.—*Supplies for the refreshment table are particularly desired.*

Friends of the cause aware of the advantages accruing to it from The Liberty Bell, are requested to forward their donations and articles *immediately*, or as soon a convenient.

Friends in England, Scotland, and Ireland, are requested to address their contributions as usual, to MARIA W. CHAPMAN, care of A. W. Weston, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Contributions and letters from the American side of the Atlantic, hitherto addressed to M. W. Chapman, may be ad dressed to ANNE W. WESTON.

Communications from friends in the country respecting lodgings for ladies intending to furnish tables, should be addressed to ELIZA F. MERIAM, Boston.

Members of the Committee who will be in Europe during he remainder of the year, will be most happy to receive donations for the purchase of choice and rare foreign articles for the Bazaar. Address CAROLINE WESTON, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Every friend who furnished evergreen for the decoration of the Hall last year, is entreated, for the sake of the cause, to continue the same good office, by *seasonably* gathering the requisite "running green," and red cedar trees, and bringing them to Boston, on Saturday, December 13th, thus allowing the indispensable three days before the 21st, for the arrangements.

Advertisements.

SITUATION WANTED.

A young man from the West Indies, having a good knowledge of business, and understanding book-keeping by single and double entry, is desirous of obtaining employment in a respectable mercantile house; where aptitude for business, and strict attention would be regarded as a more important consideration than the mere admixture of *African blood*; or a slight deviation from the Caucasian Complexion.

A communication addressed to L. M. N. care of Wm. Harnerd 61 John street, New York, will recieve prompt attention.

NEW GOODS.

AT THE

FREE PRODUCE STORE,

*JU

Poetry.

For the Standard.

Verses occasioned by the suicide of Stephen Redden, a free coloured man, who was sentenced to a lengthened imprisonment by a Judge in Somerset county, State of Maryland, for having Anti Slavery prints and publications in his possession:

Dig, tyrants, dig! your dungeons deep,
And arch the lonesome dwellings o'er;
Pile on the dens the buttress'd keep,
With massy walls, and iron door:
There in the murky depths confined,
Though your devoted victims be,
Know fools! ye have not pow'r to bind
A soul determined to be free.

The voice of Liberty can thrill
Along the dismal vaults beneath,
And teach the unconquerable will
To laugh at fetters, bonds, and death.
Spurn the dull clod that feels your pow'r,
And in afflicting durance lies,
And antedate the fated hour.
Which gives it entrance to the skies.

Not for self-murder would I plead.—
Life is the glorious gift of Heaven,
My soul abhors the Atheist creed
That o'er that life man pow'r hath given,—
Yet pity claims my falling tear,
When the poor captive or the slave,
Driven unto madness by despair,
Seeks for deliverance in the grave.

If on the bloody battle-field
Where Liberty erects its shrine,
The soil a laurel wreath can yield,
The patriot hero's brow to twine,
Surely the dungeon red with gore
For him a leaf or two may bear,
Who did on freedom's altar pour
His life a free-will offering there.

Ay! on that blood-bedabbled floor,
Another grain of hope is sown,
One added to the millions more,
O'er the wide world so lavish strown,
And spirit-watchers come and 'tend
With loving care the precious trust,
Unseen the spreading roots extend
Though trodden yet beneath the dust.

Cell, gibbet rack, or tented field,
The corpse cram'd breach, or battle plain,
Where'er the patriot's blood is spill'd,
One drop is never spilt in vain:
Those sacred spots still hovering near,
Those scenes of suffering, or of fight,
There spirit-champions come to cheer,
Fresh strugglers for the truth and right.

Dig, tyrants, dig! more dungeons deep,
And build more gibbets, high and strong;
Yet vengeance will not always sleep,
Nor justice ever suffer wrong.
Patience must surely fail at length
Waiting for rights too long withstood,
And madden'd suffering taught its strength
Wipe out the fearful score in blood.

JAMES STILLMAN.

ODE ON INDOLENCE.

"They toil not, neither do they spin."

One morn before me were three figures seen,
With bowed necks, and joined hands, side-faced;
And one behind the other stepp'd serene,
In placid sandals, and in white robes graced;
They pass'd, like figures on a marble urn,
When shifted round to see the other side;
They came again; as when the urn once more
Is shifted round, the first seen shades return;
And they were strange to me, as may betide
With vases, to one deep in Phidian lore.

How is it, shadows! that I knew ye not?
How came ye muffled in so hush a mask?
Was it a silent deep-disguised plot
To steal away, and leave without a task
My idle days? Ripe was the drowsy hour:
The blissful cloud of summer indolence
Benumb'd my eyes; my pulse grew less and less;
Pain had no sting, and pleasure's wreath no flower:
O, why did ye not melt, and leave my sense
Unhaunted quite of all but—nothingness?

A third time pass'd they by, and, passing, turn'd
Each one the face a moment's while to me;
Then faded, and to follow them I burn'd
And ached for wings, because I knew the three;
The first was a fair maid, and Love her name;
The second was Ambition, pale of cheek,
And ever watchful with fatigued eye;
The last, whom I love more, the more of blame
Is heaped upon her, maiden most unmeek,—
I knew to be my demon Poesy.

They faded, and, forsooth! I wanted wings:
O folly! What is Love? and where is it?
And for that poor Ambition! it springs
From a man's little heart's short fever-fit:
For Poesy!—no,—she has not a joy,—
At least for me,—so sweet as droway noons,
And evenings step'd in honied indolence:
O, for an age so shelter'd from annoy,
That I may never know how change the moons,
Or hear the voice of busy common sense!

And once more came they by:—alas! wherefore?
My sleep had been embroider'd with dim dreams;
My soul had been a lawn besprinkled o'er
With flowers, and stirring shades, and baffled beams:
The morn was clouded, but no shower fell,
Tho' in her lids hung the sweet tears of May;
The open casement press'd a new leaved vine,
Let in the budding warmth and throstle's lay;
O shadows! 'twas a time to bid farewell!
Upon your skirts had fallen no tears of mine.

So, ye three ghosts, adieu! Ye cannot raise
My head cool-bedded in the flowery grass;
For I would not be dieted with praise,
A pet-lamb in a sentimental farce!
Fade softly from my eyes, and be once more
In masque-like figures on the dreamy urn;
Farewell! I yet have visions for the night,
And for the day faint visions there is store;
Vanish, ye phantoms! from my idle spright,
Into the clouds, and never more return.

—*Keats.*

THE SOUL'S DEFIANCE.

I said to Sorrow's awful storm,
That beat against my breast,
Rage on—thou may'st destroy this form,
And lay it low at rest;
But still the spirit, that now brooks
Thy tempest, raging high,
Undaunted, on its fury looks
With steadfast eye.

I said to Penury's meagre train,
Come on—your threats I brave;
My last poor life-drop you may drain,
And crush me to the grave;
Yet still the spirit that endures
Shall mock your force the while,
And meet each cold, cold grasp of yours
With bitter smile.

I said to cold Neglect and Scorn
Pass on—I heed you not;
Ye may pursue me till my form
And being are forgot:
Yet still the spirit, which you see
Undaunted by your wiles,
Draws from its own nobility
Its highborn smiles.

I said to Friendship's menaced blow,
Strike deep—my heart shall bear:
Thou can'st but add one bitter wo
To those already there;
Yet still the spirit, that sustains
This last severe distress,
Shall smile upon its keenest pains,
And scorn redress.

I said to Death's uplifted dart,
Aim sure—oh! why delay?
Thou wilt not find a fearful heart—
A weak, reluctant prey;
For still the spirit, firm and free,
Unruffled by this last dismay,
Wrapt in its own eternity,
Shall smiling pass away.

Anonymous.

Miscellany.

The Archduke John, the subject of the following sketch, taken from Hall's Winter in Lower Styria, published in 1834, was appointed, it will be remembered, a few weeks since, Regent of Vienna.

THE ARCHDUKE, JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

Ever since our arrival at Hainfield, there had been much talk of our visiting the Archduke John, brother of the Emperor of Austria. At that season he resided at his vineyard, near Marburg, close to the foot of the Bacher Gebirge, which is one of the eastern prolongations of the Julian Alps, lying on the right bank of the great river Drave. As our friend the Countess* had for the last thirty years been on very friendly terms with his Imperial Highness, she readily managed to arrange our visit, and in her great anxiety that we should receive favourable impressions of Styria, its people, and its scenery, she daily urged us to make out this expedition before the winter sat in. A messenger was accordingly sent off with a letter, expressing our wish to pay our respects to him at his villa; and the answer being most obliging, we left our snug quarters at Hainfield on the 16th of October, at four o'clock in the morning. As there was nothing in the Archduke's note which related to dinner, we were left in some doubt as to the hour.

He had simply stated that he hoped to see us shortly after noon, and we naturally supposed we were expected to take our dinner, or "mittagsbrod," as the Germans call it, with his highness. Some authorities said he would of course dine at twelve the common hour in the country; others said, surely he will dine at his usual Vienna hour of two; and in the end we resolved, very indiscreetly, and like young travellers, to aim at reaching the vineyard at the latest of these two periods, and to take our chance. * * * *

We reached the town of Marburg at noon: but as it had been filled with strangers, collected from the neighbourhood on account of the vintage, which was in full progress, though a full month earlier than usual, we had great difficulty in getting any one to attend to us. We were happy at last in being received at the Sun, though it was the fourth in rank of the Inns of the place. Still more difficulty had we in getting fresh horses, so that it was about one before we were fairly under weigh, and on the road to the Archduke's villa. The acclivity at last became so steep, that the postilion declared the horses could no longer drag the carriage, and he pointed out a short cut through the vines, which he said would lead to the house.

After toiling and panting up what seemed more like a flight of steep steps than a walk, we were received at the top by the Archduke John himself, who, without his hat, had run out to meet and welcome us. There was so much natural courtesy in his manner, that we felt quite at home with him in a moment.

His Imperial Highness is a very pleasing person, about fifty-five years of age, with a fine high bald forehead, and an expression of quietness and repose, bordering on melancholy, in his countenance, which is singularly engaging. His conversation and manners, too, are so untouched by the slightest shade of affectation, and withal so cordial, that every one must feel at ease in his presence.

We soon began to discover that we had unfortunately made a great mistake in our calculations as to dinner, for the Archduke, it appeared, had dined at noon, as he always does when living at his vineyard. But on going into the drawing-room of the cottage—for it was no more than a country box,—we were not a little surprised to find a long table laid out with a cold collation, and at least a dozen covers. There was cold venison in slices, cold turkey, cold ham, and cakes of all shapes, with fruit and wine in abundance. We naturally connected this preparation with our own arrival, and when the Archduke asked us if we were disposed to eat anything, we said we were fully prepared, as we had taken nothing since breakfast, forty miles off, and eight hours before.

But cold meat and dry bread or sweet biscuits form a sorry dinner, after such a drive as we had made amongst the mountains of Styria; and long before our appetites were half satisfied our jaws ached, and our throats became parched as the roads we had been travelling over. We felt amazingly disposed to say to his Imperial Highness, "Don't you think you could manage to get us a basin of soup?" But these horrid etiquettes, which hold all mankind in terror, restrained us, and we continued packing in the slices of ham and turkey as one crams things into a trunk that is already too full.

The nature and extent of this collation puzzled us exceedingly, as they were totally out of keeping with everything else in the establishment, which was quite simple and cottage-like. Nor was it till towards the end of our visit, that, in the course of a walk we took over the vineyard and through the wine-pressing establishment, we discovered the cause. On turning an angle of the road, we came to about a dozen carriages, and fell in with many groups of visiters, this being the Archduke's weekly reception-day; and we now came to understand that the collation into which we had made such deep inroads had been prepared, not for us, but for the country neighbours who came to pay their respects to his Imperial Highness. He, however, said nothing to us in the way of explanation or apology—in fact he had not asked us to dinner, but finding us hungry, had given us all he could, and of that we made the most.

He gave us, however, what was of more substantial importance, namely, a set of directions for travelling in Upper Styria, with which country he is intimately acquainted, and where he passes a considerable portion of the year. His residence, he told us, and pointed it out on the map, is a place called Vordernberg, where he takes the active superintendence of some extensive iron-works, which he invited us to examine, promising to be our guide.

In conversing about our projected tour in Upper Styria, we fell into a number of collateral topics; and I think I have seldom met with any person who appeared so thoroughly well-informed upon all he professed any acquaintance with, or whose knowledge seemed to be more general and exact. It is true he is a prince; and we insensibly, and perhaps instinctively give more weight to merit in such a quarter than we might do if we found similar attainments and talents in a lower sphere. On the other hand the very circumstance of his being so peculiarly, and some people might say disadvantageously placed, tends to sharpen the jealous observation of those who converse with him. So that, in fact his elevated rank exposes him to a much more severe scrutiny than he would have to endure if he belonged to a lower station. But the Archduke John of Austria need fear no such cross-examinations—for what he really knows, or thinks, he gives out with such perfect frankness, that every one is convinced of the entire sincerity of his opinions, and places reliance on his statement of facts. Without the least fuss or ostentation, he is allowed by all who know him to be the most obliging and friendly of men.—His early life was passed in active and extensive intercourse with the world, both as a practical statesman, and soldier in command of armies. Latterly, while merely a country gentleman and man of science and letters, his innate good taste, and remarkable good sense, combined with genuine public spirit, have rendered his many excellent qualities extensively current in Styria, where he almost constantly resides. An unworthy person placed in his situation would soon be found out, like a base coin gilded, which the friction of the world soon expels from circulation. But a truly virtuous prince, like pure gold, acquires from the discipline of society a fresh impress and a sterling value which fit him more and more for the uses of the country in proportion as he becomes known.

The Archduke John, who, many people think, ought to have been made Governor of Styria, has been allowed to remain a simple citizen of the State; except, indeed, that he has long been at the head of the engineer department of the Austrian army.—In his humble and quiet capacity of a country gentleman, he has done an immense deal for Styria, and perhaps all that could have been done under its peculiar circumstances. He has set a-going numerous agricultural societies, which have greatly improved the cultivation of the whole province. He has also established a splendid museum at Gratz, and endowed lectureships which embrace many useful branches of knowledge. But the chief good he has done, as I understand from well-informed Styrians, has been by making himself personally acquainted with almost every man in the country, and encouraging all classes to persevere in their respective callings with industry and cheerfulness. He is, in short, like a good landlord of an immense estate, whose chief pride and pleasure lie in advancing the welfare of his tenants. The Archduke's exertions, indeed, are even more disinterested, since but a small portion of the whole is his own property. * *

* Madame Purgstall.

Some months afterwards, in the Spring of 1835, we had an opportunity of availing ourselves of the Archduke's obliging invitation to pay him a visit at his iron works in Vordernberg, which lie deep amongst the hills of Upper Styria. As Vordernberg is elevated sixteen or eighteen hundred feet above the country we left, we came in contact with the snow; not eternal snow and great glaciers, it is true, but good honest snow wreaths, many feet deep, and continued from the preceding winter.

As we had made a sad bungle of our visit the autumn before, we took care to be better informed this time as to his Imperial Highness's habits, and having on this occasion, as we thought, ascertained the exact minute when he dined, we drove up to the door at least half an hour before the time, thinking to be invited as a matter of course. We were much mistaken, for after ringing repeatedly, the door was opened by a venerable butler-looking domestic, who seemed mightily puzzled by a carriage full of company coming upon him at that moment. As he said the Archduke was out, I gave him my card, and was just driving away, when a secretary sort of man, with spectacles on nose, and pen in hand, came blustering into the rain, which was pouring on his bald pate. He seemed to know perfectly who and what we were, and lamented that his Imperial Highness was not at home.

"I suppose," added he, in a half-doubting, half-suggestive voice, "I suppose you will dine at the Inn; after which the Archduke may have returned, and be ready to receive you."

Here, then, for a second time, were all our fond hopes of a dinner with the Archduke knocked down, and we drove to the worst possible Inn in the worst possible humour. The day was wretched: the rain fell in torrents, the hills were encumbered with mist, the ground lay bathed in mud and melting snow ankle deep. The only thing in the way of victuals which the house could provide, was miserable weak soup, so tinged with saffron that no one could get beyond the first spoonful: and we sat in a cold, comfortless, dark, naked parlour, waiting till the horses should be sufficiently rested to bowl down again into the civilized world.

At length I bethought me of an expedient to pass the time, and sending for the landlord, I begged to know what was to be seen in Vordernberg.

"Oh!" cried he, "you can take a view of the melting furnaces, and see the process of preparing our beautiful iron for the markets of all the world. There is nothing like it anywhere else."

And without giving us time to make any remarks, he ran off calling out as he went, "I'll send out instantly, and learn when they will be ready at the nearest forge to draw off the metal."

In ten minutes more we were all under weigh on a voyage of information—it could hardly be called of discovery, still less of pleasure, for no one but a farmer takes delight in rain, and it fell upon us now in a style to have gratified the heart of the thirstiest husbandman in Styria after a twelvemonth's drought.

Be this as it may, we had to paddle through the mud over our shoe-tops, under the guidance of a most obsequious landlord, who, with a huge red umbrella, guarded one of the ladies, while a strapping lass, who acted the part of waiter at the Inn, carried my daughter in her arms as easily as if she had been a kitten. It was pleasant to get under shelter at last. The workmen, who waited only for our coming, dashed the bars against the closed orifice of the furnace, and gave vent to the molten iron. In one instant the fiery torrent flowed out in a manner wonderfully resembling in miniature the eruptions of Vesuvius we had witnessed the year before. So much so, that I would really recommend any one wishing to explain the nature and appearance of a stream of lava to those who unhappily have never had the grand pleasure of beholding that noblest of all terrestrial phenomena, to carry his friends to a large smelting furnace, and there begin his lecture on volcanic geology.

Whilst we were enjoying this sight, and amusing ourselves by tracing analogies between it and the volcanoes we had seen, and listening to the explanations of our host and the workman, the Archduke's secretary—he of the spectacles, who had given us the broad hint to take dinner at the public house—burst in breathless upon us—said he had been chasing us over half the village to present his Imperial Highness's compliments, and to say that he would be glad to see us at his furnace, after which he hoped we would do him the pleasure to dine with him at four o'clock.

This communication brightened our prospects; and as the prince's furnace was close at hand, we again sallied forth in the rain and mud, and were most kindly received by the Archduke himself at the door of his workshop. There we saw a second eruption, and enjoyed the benefit of a fuller, and clearer, and more scientific explanation of the whole process, than our host of the garter could give us.—We now learned that the said host had all along known privately that we were to dine with the Duke—not Duke Humphrey, as we had begun with great reason to fear—but with Duke John, who at last, as if to make up for our cold fare at his vineyard in the autumn before, gave us a capital feast.

* * * * *

The fates had decided, however, that although we should have the honor of dining with his Imperial Highness, he should not dine with us; for it appeared he had already dined at noon, according to the fashion of the spot. But he sat down to table with us, and conversed in the most agreeable style, confirming the opinion we had originally formed, that a more simple mannered, or more agreeable and well-informed gentleman is very rarely to be met with in any rank of life, or in any country in the world.

The Archduke John conforms to all the habits of the people about him; and being the chief in wealth and importance of the great mining proprietors at Vordernberg, he uses his influence—and most successfully—to render the population happy and prosperous. Previously to his settling there, the miners had been for ages in a state of bitter rivalry, and almost open hostility; but he, in a quiet way, and so as to wound no man's pride, soon proved to them that each and all would gain more by a cordial union of interests, and companionship in labour—than by pulling and tearing in opposite directions. The blessings of national peace, which were beginning to be felt in that unhappy country, come opportunely in aid of the Archduke's benevolent and public spirited measures; and I understand from those who know all the circumstances well, that there is not in the world a happier, or more flourishing set of people, than these miners now are. It was pleasing to see that wherever this amiable prince appeared, the people stepped forward, and kissed his hand, not with an air of servility, but of cordial respect and attachment. Indeed, it was difficult to recognize, under the coarse dress and simple manners of a miner, the leader once of mighty armies in the fierce contests which his country had waged with Napoleon; and still a man of the highest rank and consequence, in whose veins runs the noblest royal blood in Europe!

The Archduke, as I have already said, passes most of his time in the country, residing at Vienna only during a certain number of weeks, which are cousidered indispensible, and according to etiquettes from which not even he is exempt in that most formal of courts. His chief occupations are, first, superintending the operations of the great trigonometrical survey of Austria, of which, as chief of the engineer department, he has long had the entire control: secondly, directing the great iron works at Vordernberg; and lastly, visiting his estates in Lower Styria, where his extensive vineyards are situated.

His chief amusement is the arduous and rather dangerous hunt of the chamois goat; a sport which in that country takes—and, I am told by good authority, well supplies the place of our fox-hunting—only it is described as vastly more laborious, and requiring its admirers, of whom the Archduke John is one of the most passionate to live for days together amohg the glaciers and eternal snow of the Alps.

Another of his amusements is the encouragement of science at Gratz, and elsewhere in Styria; and as he sets about everything in the most unpretending way, and by his gentle and elegant manners conciliates all parties, his knowledge on these subjects is received not with jealousy or suspicion, but with that degree of personal favour which insures the success of every undertaking to which he wishes well. Upon the whole, there probably have been few men in any station, and not many princes, who have proved greater benefactors to their country. Very few men, indeed, have the means, even if they had the disposition, and talents, and experience requisite for so great a task; and it is in the highest degree pleasing to witness the effect of so fortunate a combination of circumstances in the person of one individual.

I forgot to mention that the Archduke John, instead of marrying an ill-favoured, starched princess, out of some foreign land, and from some cold motive of family or personal ambition, or tortuous state policy, chose to himself a wife from those ranks among whom it is his taste, and what he feels to be his duty, to pass his life. At the time of our visit to the Archduke's vineyard, we could not speak a word of German, while the lady could not speak a word of anything else; and as at our second visit she did not make her appearance, our personal acquaintance is but small. But nothing surely can be more satisfactory than to know, that if the Archduke had taken the survey of Europe—as he probably did—in search of a partner, he could not have chosen more wisely for his own happiness; and if this be so, how well may he not afford to set court etiquettes, and all their quarterings at defiance!

During dinner at Vordernberg, the Archduke entertained us with an account of the peculiar nature of the iron works in the neighbourhood. We already knew that the iron of Styria was not only extensively used on the Continent, but was sent in large quantities to America. He also explained to us that this was chiefly due to the chemical advantages given to it by nature over most of the irons of Europe, including even the Swedish and the English. The combinations which nature makes, may, indeed, sometimes, be imitated by art, but seldom so effectually, it seems, and not often without an expense which gives a preponderating advantage in commerce to such places as Styria, where an important part of the work is ready done. The Archduke at least told us, that although the English beat the Styrians hollow in the processes of refining iron, in making some kinds of steel, and especially in the manufacture of tools and all kinds of cutlery, still they are not able to compete with his countrymen in the markets of Europe, in consequence of the native excellence of the material found in the mines of Vordernberg.

"There is a tradition," said he, "of very long standing amongst our miners here which speaks to this point. When the barbarians from the regions north of the Danube drove the Romans from this province of Styria, then called Noricum, the Genius of the Mountains, willing to do the new inhabitants a favour, appeared to the conquerors, and said—"Take your choice: will you have gold mines for a year? silver for twenty years? or iron for ever?" Our wise ancestors, who had just begun to learn the true relative value of the precious metals, by ascertaining practically that their rude swords were an over match for all the wealth of the Romans, at once decided to accept iron for ever."

THE CHOLERA.—The unknown must be blended with the terrible to produce the sublimity of fear; traditionary impressions of by-gone horrors grow weak and faint as contemporary witnesses die away; and an entire nation cannot be thrown into a phrenzied state of alarm in 1848, by precisely the same causes and in precisely the same manner, as in 1832. The threatened approach of the Asiatic cholera is contemplated with the most perfect calmness, almost amounting to indifference, this time; and we are far from wishing to disturb an equanimity, which may do something to avert and a great deal to mitigate the evil. But, at the same time, it is best to familiarize ourselves with its features, however loathsome, and be prepared to recognize and grapple with it from the first hour it manifests itself. The East Indies are its birth and resting place. It broke out in the Delta of the Ganges in 1817, and arrived in England in 1831, in occupying sixteen years on the journey. Just sixteen years have elapsed since it disappeared from England, and started fresh from the Bengalese. Its comet-like course, therefore, would seem to be subjected to rules, although these have hitherto baffled science. Nothing can be more irregular than its course. It jumps over enormous spaces, and then retraces its steps, as if to repair the omission. It runs down one bank of a river for several hundred miles, and never touches the other bank. It has dealt the same with streets.

In Paris, it has happened that all the inmates in the upper and lower stories of a house lay dying, whilst not a single person in the middle stories fell ill. "We have on record (says Colonel Rowes, as quoted in Mr. Challice's pamphlet) an instance of one side of a ship, in the Madras roads, being struck by cholera, while the other side was untouched; nor did the men on the side not attacked by it, afterwards suffer, although they attended upon their afflicted companions, and buried them, that is, threw them into the sea, as they successively died." This gentleman adds that the cholera is considered by native Indian doctors to arise from animal miasma, consisting of migratory insects, analagous to those known as blights. But this theory has found no favour with the medical men of Europe; who, however, we rejoice to say, have at length decided, by an overwhelming weight of experience and authority, that the disease is not contagious. Science has its heroes as well as war, and its martyrs as well as religion. More than one French physician placed himself in direct contact with a patient in the worst stage, in order to bring the contagion question to the proof.

The first known case in great Britain broke out in Sunderland in October, 1831. The disease was not formally announced in London till February, 1832. The greatest number of deaths was in the densely populated quarters near the river; but the average mortality of the metropolis was not much increased, and the bills of mortality lead to the conclusion that the influenza is as destructive in this country as the cholera. The scene of the most fearful ravages of cholera was France, or rather Paris, which it reached on March the 2d, 1832; passing over the intervening localities, and springing from the English to the French capital at a bound.

Both Italian and English literature have drawn freely on the plague. Boccaccio and Monzoni, Defoe, with his graphic details, and "Eothen," with his mocking pathos, have flung an appaling charm over it. But it remained for a French poet, Barthelemy, to personify and poetize the cholera; and for a French historian, M. Louis Blanc, to commemorate its exploits in the loftiest style of history. The chapter devoted to this subject in "The History of the Ten Years," is one of the most eloquent in a work abounding in eloquence. "Terror at first did not seem to keep pace with the danger. The plague had surprised the Parisians in the midst of the festivities of Mid-Lent; and the intrepid gaiety of the French character seemed at first to brave the destructive malady. The streets and boulevards were thronged with masks as usual; the promenaders mustered in great numbers. People amused themselves with looking at caricatures in the shop-windows, the subject of which was the cholera morbus. The theatres were filled in the evening. There were young men who, in the extravagance of their fool-hardiness, plunged into unusual excesses. Since we are to die to-morrow, they said, let us exhaust all the joys of life to day. Most of these rash youths passed from the masked ball to the Hotel Dieu, and died before sunset next day." The higher classes were not spared in Paris; and as many of them as could find conveyances took flight. But the Royal family set a noble example by remaining; and the heir-apparent, the lamented Duke of Orleans, made a personal tour of inspection through the hospitals. Casimer Perier, [the President of the Council] accompanied him, and "this was an incontestable proof of courage on the part of a man who had long carried the seeds of death within him, whose nerves were irritable to excess, and who shuddered at the mere idea of a coffin." He never recovered from the impression, and he died three weeks afterwards.

There was a period when the deaths in Paris were calculated at 1300 or 1400 a day. Hearses fell short, and recourse was had to artillery wagons. "These having no springs, the violent jolting burst the coffins, the bodies were thrown out, and the pavement was stained with them." The people went mad with terror, believed the wildest fictions, and indulged in the most dreadful atrocities. It was rumoured that the deaths were all owing to poison, and that there was no such thing as cholera at all. "Then you might behold all the horrid secrets of modern civilization displayed in the rolling billows of a seething population. From those darksome quarters where misery hides its forgotten head, the capital was suddenly inundated by multitudes of bare-armed men, whose gloomy faces glared with hate. What sought they? What did they demand? They never told this, only they explored the city with prying eyes, and ran about with ferocious muttering. *Murders soon occurred.*" A Jew was killed because he laughed in a strange manner and carried a packet of white powder (which turned out to be camphor) in his hand. A young man was butchered for looking into a wine-seller's window, and a coal-porter made his dog tear the dead body. Private subscriptions poured in on all sides; every imaginable precaution was taken by the authorities; the medical men made superhuman efforts; but no common method of treatment having been agreed upon, the most opposite systems were pursued, even in the same hospital or the same ward. "The attendants had to execute directly opposite orders for cases perfectly identical: the patient who was dosed with punch, saw ice given to the man in the next bed, and thinking himself used only as a subject for experiments, he died with rage in his heart."

Although no specific has yet been discovered, it seems agreed that the stimulating mode of treatment is the best. Bad or unwholesome food of every sort is mentioned as a predisposing cause to cholera.—*London Morning Chronicle.*

SCENES IN PARIS.—A ROMANCE OF THE TOMB AND WEDDING.—"*Every thing* happens in Paris!" was a favourite saying of old Talleyrand, and experience every day proves the truth of his words to those who live there. Our fashionable world (for, in spite of alarmists and English newspapers, there is still a strong remnant of that Israel left,) has been much shaken by a marriage which has just taken place under the most romantic and extraordinary circumstances; so romantic indeed as to need the pen of the first romance writer of the age to do the story justice.

Upon the summit of one of the many hills over which stretch the ghastly streets and lanes, the palaces, the tenements, the hovels of that vast city of the dead, called Pere la Chaise, which, as if in mockery of the living city below, reckons likewise of its fashionable quarter, its court end, its gardens and its fountains, stands one of the most superb and striking monuments of the whole place; one towards which, though still in an unfinished state, the guide is sure to hurry the stranger immediately on his entrance into the cemetery. "This tomb will cost forty thousand francs. It is wholly of white marble, and is being erected in memory of a young doctor of Bordeaux by his disconsolate widow."

Such was always the description given by the guide as his victim stood before the stupendous monument, the latter sometimes full of admiration at the delicate execution of the carving on the marble, and sometimes full of wonder at the astonishing facility with which doctors must earn money at Bordeaux, thus to enable one of them to leave sufficient behind him to leave his disconsolate widow the means of proclaiming so expensively to the world her grief at his loss. Close beside this marble tomb, the modern glory of the cemetery, stands the beautiful tribute to the memory of Mad'lle Mars, a very *chif de œuvre*, both in conception and execution, forming a contrast by its neatness and quiet elegance, to the gigantic proportions of its neigbours.

Each day for the last six months brought a visiter to both the tombs: to the splendid one, a lady attired in deep mourning, who would kneel and pray for hours together on the hard stone, and weep as she leaned her head against the marble pillar whereon was to be carved the name of the deceased; to the other a gentleman of snow white hair and aristocratic countenance who would not kneel and pray, but sit in quiet meditation, sometimes the whole day long, upon the little wooden bench placed at the foot of the grave of the actress, gazing out upon the glorious panorama of Paris which lay at his feet. It is said, indeed that much of his time was spent in reading the works of Marivaux and others, wherein poor Mars had obtained her high renown.

Gradually an interest arose between the pair, who thus, as it were, shared the vast solitude between them. Together at sunrise they often waited at the gate of the cemetery until the regular hour for admittance, and then ascended arm in arm the toilsome height upon which stand the neighbour tomos. Soon the lady was induced to repose upon the little bench by the side of the elderly gentlemen; gradually she was led to take interest in the subjects of his readings, and now and then, indeed, could be induced to listen to whole passages from the comedies which the gentleman was perusing.

In short, this very comedy, more dramatic by far than any in Marivaux's collection, ended last week by an astounding marriage, the Princess Semailoff widow of the "young Doctor of Bordeaux," espoused the Count Charles de Mornay; the constant admirer and faithful friend of Mad'lle Mars. The black hangings which shaded so gloomily the gilded saloons and painted staircase of the beautiful mansion of her highness in the Rue de la Pepiniere have all been torn down, and everything wears once more a joyous and festive aspect. Great entertainments are there to be given as soon as the happy pair shall have concluded their bridal tour.

Both parties have been sincerely congratulated by their friends, the lady upon having secured to herself the most true and constant knight, the most refined gentleman in all France, now that Chateaubriand is no more; the gentleman upon having monopolized the finest independent fortune in Europe, thus left vacant by the death of the young Doctor of Bordeaux, who succeeded two years ago to David, the tenor singer, who succeeded a year before that to Prince Semailoff, the first triumphant suitor of the only daughter of Count Pahlen. Some people consider M. de Mornay as more bold than wise. The Princess Semailoff evidently shares the peculiarity of that Duchess Barrans of whom Madame de Sevigne says, *Elle est malheureuse en maris—ils meurent tous de bonne heure!*—[*London Atlas.*]

GODWIN AND TALFOURD.—Mr. Godwin was thus a man of two beings, which held little discourse with each other—the daring inventor of theories constructed of air-drawn diagrams—and the single gentlemen, who suffered nothing to disturb or excite him, beyond his study. He loved to walk in the crowded streets of London, not, like Lamb, enjoying the infinite varieties of many-coloured life around him, but because he felt, amidst the noise, and crowd, and glare, more intensely the imperturbable stillness of his own contemplations. His means of comfortable support were mainly supplied by a shop in Skinner street, where, under the auspices of "M. J. Godwin and Co.," the prettiest and wisest books for children issued, which old fashioned parents presented to their children, without suspecting that the graceful lessons of piety and goodness which charmed away the selfishness of infancy, were published and sometimes revised, and now and then written by a philosopher, whom they would scarcely venture to name! He met the exigencies which the vicissitudes of business sometimes caused, with the trusting simplicity which marked his course—he asked his friends for aid without scruple, considering that their means were justly the due of one who toiled in thought for their inward life, and had little time to provide for his own outward existance; and took their excuses when offered, without doubt or offence. The very next day after I had been honoured and delighted with an introduction to him at Lamb's chambers I was made still more proud and happy by his appearance at my own on such an errand—which my poverty, not my will, rendered abortive. After some pleasant chat on indifferent matters, he carelessly observed that he had a little bill for £150 falling due on the morrow, which he had forgotten till that morning, and desired the loan of the necessary amount for a few weeks. At first, in eager hope of being able thus to oblige one whom I regarded with admiration akin to awe, I began to consider whether it was possible for me to raise such a sum; but, alas! a moment's reflection sufficed to convince me that the hope was in vain, and I was obliged, with much confusion, to assure my distinguished visitor how glad I should have been to serve him, but that I was only just starting as a special pleader, was obliged to write for magazines to help me on, and had not such a sum in the world. "Oh, dear," said the philosopher, "I thought you were a young gentleman of fortune—don't mention it—don't mention it; I shall do very well elsewhere,"—and then, in the most gracious manner, reverted to our former topics; and sat in my small room for half an hour, as if to convince me that my want of fortune made no difference in his esteem. A slender tribute to the literature he had loved and served so well, was accorded to him in the old age to which he attained, by the gift of a sinecure in the exchequer of about £200 a year, connected with the custody of the records; and the last time I saw him he was heaving an immense key to unlock the musty treasure of which he was guardian—how unlike those he had unlocked, with finer talisman, for the astonishment and alarm of one generation, and the delight of all others.—*Talfourd's Final Memorials of Charles Lamb.*

OUR WONDROUS ATMOSPHERE.—The atmosphere rises above us with its cathedral dome, arching towards the heaven, of which it is the most familiar synonyme and symbol. It floats around us like that grand object which the apostle John saw in his vision—"a sea of glass like unto crystal." So massive is it, that when it begins to stir, it tosses about great ships like playthings, and sweeps cities and forests, like snowflakes, to destruction before it.—And yet it is so mobile, that we have lived years in it before we can be persuaded that it exists at all, and the great bulk of mankind never realize the truth that they are bathed in an ocean of air. Its weight is so enormous, that iron shivers before it like glass; yet a soap bell sails through it with impunity, and the tiniest insect waves it aside with its wing. It ministers lavishly to all the senses. We touch it not, but it touches us. Its warm south-winds bring back colour to the pale face of the invalid; its cool west winds refresh the fevered brow, and makes the blood mantle in our cheeks; even its north blasts brace into new vigour the hardened children of our rugged climate. The eye is indebted to it for all the magnificence of sunrise, the full brightness of mid-day, the chastened radiance of the gloaming, and the clouds that cradle near the setting-sun. But for it the rainbow would want its "triumphal arch," and the winds would not send their fleecy messengers on errands round the heavens. The cold ether would not shed snow feathers on the earth, nor would drops of dew gather on the flowers. The kindly rain would never fall, nor hail storm nor fog diversify the face of the sky. Our naked globe would turn its tanned and unshadowed forehead to the sun, and one dreary, monotonous blaze of light and heat dazzle and burn up all things. Were there no atmosphere, the evening sun would in a moment set, and, without warning, plunge the earth in darkness. But the air keeps in her hand a sheaf of his rays, and lets them slip but slowly through her fingers; so that the shadows of evening are gathered by degrees, and the flowers have time to bow their heads, and each creature space to find a place of rest, and to nestle to repose. In the morning, the garish sun would at one bound burst from the bosom of night, and blaze above the horizon; but the air watches for his coming, and sends at first but one little ray to announce his approach, and then another, and by and by a handful, and so gently draws aside the curtain of night, and slowly lets the light fall on the face of the sleeping earth, till her eyelids open, and like man, she goeth forth again to her labour till the evening.—*Quarterly Review.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The population of ancient Syracuse was equal to that of Paris. Now there are not 1,000 inhabitants, and not a ship in the port.

"Martin Bramble," in the *Glasgow Examiner*, says the young Irelanders did not raise because they were too much addicted to lying.

DRINK AND DISEASE.—It is remarkable says Dr. Darwin, that all the diseases from drinking spiritous liquors are liable to become hereditary, even to the third generation; and gradually to increase until the family becomes extinct.

It is asserted that of the thirty men, who formed Smith O'Brien's body guard at and subsequent to the battle of Ballingary, fifteen have turned approvers and lodged depositions against him.

UNSEASONABLE.—The French are so lively a people that they jest upon everything. Of two American missionaries destroyed by the savages, they say that they have fulfilled their mission and supplied the cannibals with Christian nutriment.

Independent of the Repeal rent, of the expenditure of which he never would render an account, O'Connell received from the Irish peasantry no less a sum than £220,000.

"Smith O'Brien," observes the *Ballinsloe Star*, "was tried in Dublin on the 15th May, the anniversary of O'Connell's death, was arrested on the 5th of August, the anniversary of his burial, and committed to prison on the 6th, the anniversary of his birth."

"It is melancholy to reflect," observes the *Daily News* "that while all the aspirations of the old world tend in the direction of freedom, the question which chiefly agitates the new is that of the extension and perpetuation of Slavery."

The Paris papers say that so great was the number of mirrors, crystals, &c, broken by the mob in the Palais Royal during the revolution of Paris in February last that the fragments of glass when lately sold at auction, weighed no less than 25,000 kilogrammes. This seems hardly possible, the weight being twenty English tons.

Stammering (says Coleridge) is sometimes the cause of a pun. Some one was mentioning in Lamb's presence the cold-heartedness of the Duke of Cumberland, in restraining the duchess from rushing up to the embrace of her son, whom she had not seen for a considerable time, and insisted on her receiving him in state. "How horribly *cold* it was," said the narrator. "Yes," said Lamb, in his stammering way, "but you know he is the Duke of *Cu cum-ber-land*."

A CRITERION OF SOBRIETY.—In a case at the assizes in Newcastle, the landlord of the Beeswing was asked to define the condition of a foolish old man, who had been robbed while he was tipsy, and replied, "He had had drink, but was qualified to call for liquor, and pay for it;" which, said Mr. Otter, was a landlord's criterion of sobriety.—*Gateshead Observer.*

THE WIT AND THE WIG.—A barrister entered one of the Four Courts, Dublin, with his wig so much awry as to cause a general titter. Seeing Curran smile, he said, "Do you see anything ridiculous in my wig"? "No," replied Curran, nothing but your head."

The American papers who advocated the rebellion in Ireland will be a curious study when the